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THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA

By JOHN FISKE

VOLUME II





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THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA

*WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF ANCIENT AMERICA
AND THE SPANISH CONQUEST*

By JOHN FISKE

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOLUME SECOND

PART TWO



CAMBRIDGE

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CHAPTER X.

THE CONQUEST OF PERU.

THE chain of circumstances that led to the discovery and conquest of Peru, like the chain that led to the conquest of Mexico, had its origin in the island of Hispaniola, and was closely connected with the calamitous work of colonizing the isthmus of Darien. In July, 1509, Diego Columbus, bringing with him his vice-queen Maria de Toledo, came out to San Domingo, to enter upon the government and colonization of such countries as had been discovered by his father, as well as of such as might be discovered by himself or his appointed captains. Such at least was his own theory of the situation, but the crown took a different view of it. As we have seen, Diego had already set on foot a law-suit against the crown to determine the extent of his rights and privileges, and matters were to come to such a pass that in four years an attempt was to be made to invalidate his father's claim to the discovery of the Pearl Coast. We have already made some mention of that attempt and its failure, in the great judicial inquiry usually known in this connection as the *Probanzas*. The result of that inquiry was entirely favourable to Columbus, but

Relations of
the Admiral
Diego Colum-
bus to the
crown.

anything like practical control over the affairs of Terra Firma had already been virtually taken out of Diego's hands. We have seen that the immediate result of the third voyage of Columbus, in which the rich Pearl Coast was discovered, was the sending of an expedition by his enemy Fonseca to the same region. This was the expedition of 1499, commanded by Alonso de Ojeda, and from that time forth Ojeda was closely associated with this coast, made further explorations there, and was appointed governor of the small island of Coquibacoa. La Cosa and Vespuceus, also, who had been Ojeda's pilots in 1499, did further work in this neighbourhood. We have seen these two great navigators, in 1505 and 1507, exploring the gulf of Darien and the Atrato river, where they had hoped to find a passage to the Moluccas. Instead of such a passage they found gold in the river-beds. After their return we have seen Vespuceus made pilot major of Spain, and La Cosa made "alguazil mayor," or high constable, of a colony about to be founded at Darien. Now if King Ferdinand had been well disposed toward Diego Columbus and his claims he would naturally have entrusted this important enterprise

Provinces of
Terra Firma
granted to
Ojeda and Ni-
cuesa.

to his uncle Don Bartholomew, about whose ability and integrity there could be no question. But the relations of the crown to the Columbus claims made any such appointment impossible, and the governorship was given to the brave but incompetent Ojeda. About the same time Diego de Nicuesa, another court favourite like Ojeda, but better

educated and of finer mould, applied for the same position, and King Ferdinand arranged the matter by creating two provinces, one for each favourite. The country between the gulfs of Urabá (Darien) and Maracaibo was to be the province for Ojeda, while the Veragua and Honduras coasts, from the gulf of Urabá to Cape Gracias á Dios, were assigned to Nicuesa. The former province did not trench upon any territory discovered by Columbus, but the latter was chiefly made up of coasts first visited by him, and the appointment of Nicuesa was hardly less than an affront to the Admiral Diego.

Thus when the joint expedition was getting ready to start from Hispaniola, in the autumn of 1509, everything had been arranged as ingeniously as possible to hinder cordial coöperation. To the rivalry between the two governors was added the dislike felt for both by Diego Columbus. First, the two governors wrangled over the boundary-line between their provinces, until La Cosa persuaded them to agree upon the Atrato river. Then came the more important question of supplies. To ensure a steady supply of food, the island of Jamaica was to be placed at the disposal of Ojeda and Nicuesa; but as that was an invasion of the rights of Diego Columbus, he would not consent to it. So they started without any established base of supply, trusting themselves to luck. A sudden arrest for debt detained Nicuesa, so that Ojeda got off about a week before him. Before reaching the gulf of Urabá, at a place near the site of Cartagena, the rash Ojeda

Starting of the
expeditions.

made up his mind to go ashore and catch a few slaves to be sent over to Hispaniola in payment for food. Against the advice of the veteran La Cosa he insisted upon going, with about seventy men, and La Cosa went with him to screen him from the effects of such hardihood, for he had found out that the Indians in that region used poisoned arrows. A few drops of poison sometimes quite neutralized the advantages of armour and cross-bows and gunpowder. La Cosa and

Death of La
Cosa.

all the other Spaniards save two were slain ; one of these two was Ojeda, who was picked up four or five days later and carried aboard ship just in time to save him from death by starvation. Nicuesa now arrived upon the scene with his ships, and, forgetting past quarrels, treated his unfortunate rival with much kindness and courtesy. After he had passed by, Ojeda stopped at the entrance to the gulf of Urabá and began to build a rude town there which he called

Famine.

San Sebastian. The proceedings were soon checked by famine, and as a piratical fellow named Talavera happened to come along in a ship which he had stolen, Ojeda concluded to embark with him and hurry over to Hispaniola in quest of supplies and reinforcements. His party kept their ships, and it was agreed that if Ojeda should not return within fifty days they might break up the expedition and go wherever they liked. So Ojeda departed, leaving in temporary command an Estremaduran named Francisco Pizarro, of whom we shall have more to say.

The unfortunate commander never returned. After a voyage anything but agreeable in company with Talavera's ruffians, the stolen ship was wrecked on the coast of Cuba. In course of time Ojeda, sadly the worse for wear, got back to San Domingo, but long before that time his party had been scattered, and he had

Death of
Ojeda.



no means of making a fresh start. He died at San Domingo in abject misery, in 1515.

While the shipwrecked Ojeda was starving on the coast of Cuba, a couple of ships, with horses, food, and ammunition, started from San Domingo to go to the relief of San Sebastian. The commander was a lawyer, the Bachelor Martin Fernandez de Enciso, afterwards distinguished as a historian and geogra-

Expedition of
Enciso.

pher.¹ He was a kind of partner in Ojeda's enterprise, having invested some money in it. He was in many respects an estimable person, but hardly fitted for the work to which he had put his hand, for he was made of red tape, without a particle of tact about him. Among the barrels in Enciso's ship was one that contained neither bread nor gunpowder, but a handsome and penniless young cavalier who had contrived this way of escaping from his creditors. This was Vasco

Appearance
of Balboa.

Núñez de Balboa, who in spite of this undignified introduction is by far the most attractive figure among the Spanish adventurers of that time. After the vessel had got well out to sea Balboa showed himself, much to the disgust of Enciso, who could not abide such irregular proceedings. He scolded Vasco Núñez roundly, and was with some difficulty dissuaded from setting him ashore on a small desert island, — which apparently would not have been in the eyes of our man of red tape an irregular proceeding! Arriving upon the site of Cartagena, Enciso met Pizarro, with the haggard remnant of Ojeda's party in a small brigantine. What business had these men here? thought this rigid and rigorous Enciso; they must be deserters and had better be seized at once and put in irons. With much ado they convinced him of the truth of their story. As the fifty days had expired without news of Ojeda, they had abandoned the enterprise. But now they

¹ His valuable work *Suma de Geografia, que trata de todas las partidas y provincias del mundo, en especial de las Indias*, was published at Seville in 1519. There were later editions in 1530 and 1546. It is now excessively rare.

were ready to follow Enciso, and all thus proceeded amicably together to the gulf of Urabá. After some mishaps Balboa, who had formerly been on that coast with Bastidas and La Cosa, advised the party to choose the western shore of the gulf for their settlement, inasmuch as the Indians on that side did not use poisoned arrows. This sound advice was adopted, and the building of the town of Santa Maria del Darien was begun. Enciso's overbearing temper soon proved too much for his followers and they resolved to depose him, but could not agree upon a successor. By crossing the gulf they had entered Nicuesa's province, and some thought that he ought therefore to become their commander, while some favoured Balboa, and a few remained loyal to Enciso. It was at length decided to elect Nicuesa, and until he should come Balboa remained the leading spirit of the little colony.

Enciso de-
posed by his
men.

It was now December, 1510. Nicuesa's story had been an appalling record of famine and mutiny. Out of more than 700 men who had left Hispaniola with him thirteen months before, not more than 70 remained alive at the little blockhouse which they had built and called Nombre de Dios. The Spanish adventurers in America need all the allowances that charity can make for them, and in rehearsing their deeds one is sometimes led to reflect that their prolonged sufferings in the wilderness must have tended to make them as savage as wolves.¹ One

Awful suffer-
ings of Nicuesa
and his party.

¹ "The more experience and insight I obtain into human na-

sees this illustrated in the melancholy fate of poor Nicuesa. That kind-hearted gentleman had become maddened by hardship until his harshness began to alarm his men. His friend Colmenares, bringing food from Hispaniola and a message of invitation from the men at Darien, found him, "of all lyuyng men most infortunate, in maner dried vppe with extreeme hunger, fylthye and horrible to beholde, with onely three score men . . . lefte alyve of seven hundreth. They al seemed to hym soo miserable, that he noo less lamented theyr case than yf he had founde them deade." ¹ As soon as they had recovered strength enough to

Cruel treatment of Nicuesa by the men of Darien.

move about, they started in two caravels for Darien. Nicuesa's unwonted harshness continued, and he was heard to utter a threat of confiscating the gold which the men of Darien had found within his territory. This foolish speech sealed his fate. The other caravel, reaching Darien before his own, warned the party there against him, and when he arrived they would not let him come ashore. With seventeen comrades left who would not desert him, the unfortunate Nicuesa put out to sea and was never heard of again.

This affair left Vasco Nuñez in undisputed command, the more convinced do I become that the greater portion of a man is purely animal. Fully and regularly fed, he is a being capable of being coaxed or coerced to exertion of any kind, love and fear sway him easily, he is not averse to labour however severe; but when starved it is well to keep in mind the motto 'Cave Canem,' for a starving lion over a raw morsel of beef is not so ferocious or so ready to take offence." Stanley, *In Darkest Africa*, vol. i. p. 270.

¹ *Decades of the Newe Worlde*, dec. ii. lib. iii.

mand at Darien, and as he was thus the most conspicuous gainer from it, there was an opportunity for his enemies to cast upon him the blame for the cruel treatment of Nicuesa. On this grave charge, however, he was afterward tried and acquitted by an unfriendly tribunal, and it seems clear that without opposing the decision not to receive Nicuesa as commander he tried his best to save him from harm. But his conduct toward the Bachelor Enciso was the very height of folly. Doubtless he found that martinet unendurable, but what could be more unwise than first to imprison him and then to set him free on condition of leaving the colony in the first available ship? The angry Enciso went home to Spain and complained at court. Vasco Nuñez indeed tried to provide against such an adverse influence by sending his friend Zamudio to talk with King Ferdinand; but the trained advocate Enciso proved a better talker than Zamudio.

Balboa left in undisputed command.

Balboa forthwith proceeded to explore the isthmus. He made an alliance with the chief Careta, who gave him his daughter in marriage. Then he added to the alliance a powerful chief named Comogre, whose town he visited with some of his men. This, it will be observed, was in 1512, before any rumour of the existence of Mexico had reached the ears of the Spaniards, and they were agreeably surprised at the sight of the house in which Comogre received them, which was much finer than any that they had hitherto beheld, and seemed to indicate that at length they were approaching the con-

finer of Asiatic civilization. It was 150 paces in length by 80 feet in breadth, with finely wrought floors and ceiling, and, besides granaries, cellars, and living rooms, contained a kind of chapel where the bodies of deceased members of the clan were preserved as mummies.¹ The chief gave the Spaniards a large quantity of gold and seventy slaves. These Indians knew nothing of gold as a purchasing medium, but made it into trinkets, and they were sorely mystified at seeing the Spaniards melt it into bars or ingots, which they weighed with scales. A dispute, or, as Eden calls it, a "brabbling," arose among the Spaniards as they were weighing and dividing this gold. Then a son of

Speech of Comogre's son.

Comogre got up and told the visitors that if they set so much value on this yellow stuff as to quarrel about it they had better go to a country where they could get more than enough for all. Over across the sierras there was a great sea, and far to the southward on the shore of this sea there was a land where gold was so plentiful that people used it instead of pottery for their bowls and cups. This was the first distinct and undoubted mention of the country of the Incas. Vasco Nuñez sent news of this speech to the Spanish court, accompanied by the king's share of the gold, one fifth of the amount; but unfortunately the vessel was wrecked in the Caribbean sea, and neither message nor gold found its way to King Ferdinand. It was not until the next spring that messengers reached the Spanish court, and then it was learned that Enciso had the

¹ Peter Martyr, *De Orbe Novo*, Alcalá, 1516, dec. ii. lib. iii.

king's ear, and legal proceedings against Vasco Nuñez were about to be begun.

Soon afterward, our adventurer received from the government in Hispaniola the appointment of captain-general over Darien. His satisfaction, however, was sadly clouded by the news from Spain, and he determined at once to cross the sierra, in the hope of finding the great sea and thus establishing a claim to favourable treatment. There was no use in waiting for reinforcements, for the same ship that brought fresh troops might bring an order for his dismissal and arrest. Early in September, 1513, accordingly, Balboa started across the isthmus with about 200 men and a small pack of bloodhounds. From Careta's territory he entered that of a cacique named Quarequa, who undertook to oppose his advance through that difficult country. But no sooner did it come to fighting than the Indians fled in wild terror from enemies who wielded thunder and lightning. Capturing some of these Indians and winning their confidence by kind treatment, Balboa used them as guides through the mountains. On the 25th of September, from one of the boldest summits in Quarequa's country, Balboa looked down upon the waste of waters which was afterwards shown to be the greatest ocean upon the globe.¹

Discovery of
the Pacific
ocean.

Four more days of arduous toil brought the Spaniards down from the mountains to the shore of the gulf which, because they reached it on

¹ Keats in his beautiful poem inadvertently puts Cortes in place of Balboa.

Michaelmas, they named San Miguel. After launching out upon this rough sea in a small flotilla of canoes, and navigating a portion of it at the imminent risk of perishing in an equinoctial gale, Vasco Nuñez effected a landing upon its northern shore in the country of the chieftain Tumaco, whom he first defeated and then by kind treatment won his friendship. Tumaco confirmed the story of a rich empire far to the south, and produced a clay figure of a llama in illustration of some of his statements.

Further news
of the golden
kingdom.

It was now high time to return to Darien with the tidings of what had been accomplished. Vasco Nuñez arrived there early in January, 1514, but too late for his achievement to effect such a result as he had hoped for. He might not unreasonably have expected to be confirmed in his governorship of the isthmus. But stories of the golden kingdom

Affairs in
Spain.

mentioned by Comogre's son had already wrought their effect in Spain. The victories of the French in Italy under the brilliant Gaston de Foix had alarmed King Ferdinand; an army for Italy had been collected and the command given to Gonsalvo de Córdoba. But before this expedition started news came of the retreat of the French, and the king ordered Gonsalvo to disband his men.¹ Many of the gay cavaliers who had enlisted with fiery enthusiasm under the Great Captain were thus thrown out of occupation, to their intense disgust; when all at once there came

¹ *Chronica del Gran Capitan*, lib. iii. cap. 7; Mariana, *Historia de España*, lib. xxx. cap. 14.

to Spain the report of an unknown sea beyond the Terra Firma, and of a kingdom abounding in wealth. There ensued one of the bursts of excitement so common in that age of marvels, and which the reading of Don Quixote enables one to appreciate. On the word of an unknown Indian youth, before it had been even partially confirmed by Balboa's discovery of the sea, these cavaliers were at once ready to cross the Atlantic. If they were not to go to Italy they would seek adventures in the Indies. A fleet was accordingly fitted out, with accommodations for 1,200 men, but at least 1,500 contrived to embark. The admiral of the fleet and new governor of Terra Firma was a man over seventy years of age, ^{Pedrarias} ^{Dávila.} named Pedrarias Dávila, one of those two-legged tigers of whom Spain had so many at that time. He was a favourite at court, and his wife was a niece of that Marchioness of Moya who had been the friend of Queen Isabella and of Columbus. For the next sixteen years Pedrarias was a leading figure in the Indies, and when he died the historian Oviedo, in a passage of surpassing quaintness, tried to compute how many souls of his murdered victims he would be called upon to confront at the Day of Judgment.¹ Oviedo was inclined to put the figure at 2,000,000. If we were to strike off a couple of ciphers, we should have a figure quite within the limits of credibility, and

¹ Oviedo, *Historia de las Indias*, xxix. 34. This historian cherished a personal grudge against Pedrarias; but all the other best authorities — Peter Martyr, Las Casas, Andagoya, Benzoni, Remesal — are in substantial agreement as to his atrocious character.

sufficiently terrible. It is hardly necessary to add that this green-eyed, pitiless, perfidious old wretch was an especial pet of Bishop Fonseca.

The arrival of this large force in Darien was the beginning of a self-sustaining colony. The collection of rude cabins called Santa Maria del Darien was made a "cathedral city," and Juan de Quevedo was appointed bishop. Gonsalvo Hernandez de Oviedo, afterwards famous as a historian, came out as inspector-general of the new colony. Gaspar de Espinosa was chief judge, and Enciso returned to the scene as chief constable. His first business was to arrest Vasco Nuñez, who was tried on various charges before Espinosa, but was presently acquitted and set free. The news of his discovery and the arguments of admiring friends had begun to win favour for him at the Spanish court. For more than two years Vasco

Jealousy between Pedrarias and Balboa.

Nuñez contrived to avoid a serious quarrel with the governor, whose jealousy of him was intense, and made all the more so by the comparisons which men could not help drawing between the two. The policy of Pedrarias toward the Indian tribes was the ordinary one of murder and plunder; in a few instances he chose incompetent lieutenants who were badly defeated by the Indians; once he was defeated in person; and such results could not but be contrasted with those which had attended the more humane, honest, and sagacious management of Balboa. In October, 1515, the latter wrote to the king, complaining of the governor's cruel conduct and its effect in needlessly alienating the Indians; and it is

impossible to read that letter to-day¹ and not feel that Vasco Nuñez, with all his faults, was a wise and true-hearted man, with ample warrant for every word that he said. But the king could not very well read such a letter without some echoes of it finding their way back to the New World. Matters grew so stormy that Juan de Quevedo, the Bishop of Darien, who was friendly to Balboa, thought it necessary to negotiate a kind of treaty between him and the governor. Balboa was to be sent, with a proper force, to visit the golden kingdom at the South, and the bishop proposed to cement the alliance by a betrothal between Balboa and the daughter of Pedrarias. Doubtless the worthy clergyman, like most white men of his time, thought that an Indian wife counted for nothing. Vasco Nuñez did not think so. He was devotedly fond of the Indian girl and she of him, but as the other young lady was in Spain and her father in no great haste about the matter, Vasco Nuñez assented to this article in the

treaty. Then he went off to Acla, a newly founded port on the Atlantic side of the isthmus, to engage in the herculean task

An expedition prepared to go in search of the golden kingdom.

of taking his ships piecemeal across the sierra to the point where they were to be put together and launched on the Pacific.² After many months of

¹ Balboa, *Carta dirigida al Rey*, 16 Octubre, 1515, in Navarrete, *Coleccion de viages*, iii. 375.

² Bishop Quevedo afterward reported to the Emperor Charles V. that "more than 500 Indians" perished under the hardships of this terrible undertaking; but Quevedo's secretary told Las Casas that the real number of deaths was not less than 2,000, a figure which the bishop refrained from stating, through fear of

toil four ships, the first European keels to plough the great "Sea of the South," were ready to weigh anchor, and 300 men were ready to embark. Nothing was wanted but a little iron and pitch, and the delay thus caused was to bring swift ruin upon Vasco Nuñez.

A rumour had just arrived that the king had superseded old Pedrarias and appointed a new governor for the Terra Firma. The rumour was not so much false as premature, for the complaints against Pedrarias had wrought some effect at court, and the appointment of Lope de Sosa was made in the course of the next year.¹ This premature rumour had serious consequences. Now that things had advanced so far, Balboa was more disturbed than pleased, for being used to the frying pan he preferred it to the fire; a new governor might interfere and prevent his departure, and if it were not for that iron and pitch it would be prudent to sail at once. But since these articles were much wanted, let the small party sent back for them to Acla use some discretion and begin by ascertaining how much or how little truth there might be in the rumours. If the new governor should have arrived, perhaps it might be best to return as quietly and quickly as possible; but if Pedrarias should still be in power, then it were best to go in boldly and ask for the iron and pitch.

being accused of exaggeration. See Las Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, iv. 233. At the same time, says Las Casas, Balboa was no mere slave-driver. Whenever the hardest work was to be done he was foremost, taking hold with his own hands and everywhere aiding and cheering.

Thus Balboa talked with two friends one summer evening on the rude veranda of a cabin which he had used for headquarters while the ar-
duous shipbuilding had been going on.

A fatal conversation.

So far as Pedrarias was concerned, there does not seem to have been a word of treason in the conversation, but while they were talking in an undertone it began to rain, and a sentinel, pacing near headquarters, came up under the eaves for shelter, and listened. From the fragments which reached his ears he concluded that Balboa was intending to throw off his allegiance to Pedrarias and set up a new government for himself; and so, translating his crude inferences into facts, this fellow contrived to send information to La Puente, the treasurer at Acla, a man with whom Vasco Nuñez had once had a little dispute about some money.

Now it happened that a man named Andres Garavito,¹ having become enamoured of Balboa's Indian wife, had made overtures which were indignantly repulsed by the woman, and called forth stern words of warning from Vasco Nuñez. The wretched Garavito thereupon set out to compass Balboa's death. Having been sent on some business to Acla, he told Pedrarias that Balboa never meant to marry his daughter, inasmuch as he cared for no one but the Indian woman; moreover he was now about to go off in his ships to the

¹ The name is often written *Garabito*. The habitual confusion of these two labials in the Spanish language long ago called forth from Julius Scaliger the epigram:—

Haud temere antiquas Vasconia voces

Cui nihil est aliud vivere quam bibere.

De Causis Linguae Latinæ, i. 14.

golden kingdom and gain wealth in his own behoof with which to withstand and ruin Pe-
Garavito's treachery. drarias. While the old man was cursing and raving over this story, the party coming for iron and pitch halted on the edge of the forest, and sent one of their number into the town after nightfall to make inquiries. It was this man's luck to be arrested as a spy, but he sent word to his comrades, and they, coming into town, protested their innocence so strongly and stated the true object of their visit so clearly that the angry governor was more than half convinced, when all at once the treasurer La Puente came to see him and told what he had heard from the sentinel. This sealed the fate of Vasco Nuñez. The governor sent him a crafty letter, couched in terms of friendship, and asking him to return to Acla before sailing, as there were business matters in which he needed advice. The unsuspecting Balboa set forth at once to recross the sierra. We are told that his horoscope had once been taken by a Venetian astrologer, who said that if he were ever to behold a certain planet in a certain quarter of the heavens it would mean that he was in sore peril, but if he should escape that danger he would become the greatest lord in all the Indies. And there is a legend that the star now appeared one evening to Vasco Nuñez, whereupon he told his attendants about the prophecy and mocked at it. But as he drew near to Acla there came out a company of soldiers to arrest him, and the captain of this company was Francisco Pizarro, one of his old comrades who had served under him ever since

the time when the lawyer Enciso was deposed from command. "How is this, Francisco Pizarro?" said Balboa, "it is not thus that thou wert wont to come forth to meet me." But he offered no resistance, and when put upon his trial he simply asked why, if he had really been meditating treason and desertion, he should have come back so promptly when called. A guilty man would have staid away. But it was no use talking.¹ The governor had made up his mind, and before the sun went down Vasco Nuñez and four of his friends had been tried, condemned, and beheaded.²

Balboa put to death by Pedrarias.

Thus perished in the forty-second year of his age the man who but for that trifle of iron and pitch would probably have been the conqueror of Peru. It was a pity that such work should not

¹ "Valboa con giuramento negò, dicendo, che inquanto toccaua alla informatione che contra lui s'era fatta di solleuargli la gente che l'era à torto, e falsamente accusato, e che considerasse bene quello che faceua, e se lui havesse tal cosa tentata, non saria venuto alla presentia sua, e similmente del resto, si difese il meglio che puote; ma dove regnano le forze, poco gioua difendersi con la ragione." Benzoni, *Historia del Mondo Nuovo*, i. 51, Venice, 1572.

² In the accounts of the Garavito treachery as given by Oviedo and Herrera, there is some confusion. Oviedo represents Garavito as having been arrested by Pedrarias and telling his base story in order to turn the governor's wrath away from himself. But as Sir Arthur Helps (*Spanish Conquest*, vol. i. p. 432) has pointed out, the discrepancy seems to have arisen from confounding Andres Garavito with his brother Francisco, who was one of the company sent for the iron and pitch and was faithful to Vasco Nuñez. The man who was arrested as a spy seems to have been Luis Botello, one of the four friends who were executed with Vasco Nuñez. See Pascual de Andagoya, *Relacion*, in Navarrete, *Coleccion de viages y descubrimientos*, iii. 405.

have fallen into his hands, for when at length it was done, it was by men far inferior to him in character and calibre. One cannot but wish that he might have gone on his way like Cortes, and worked out the rest of his contemplated career in accordance with the genius that was in him. That bright attractive figure and its sad fate can never fail to arrest the attention and detain the steps of the historian as he passes by. Quite possibly the romantic character of the story may have thrown something of a glamour about the person of the victim, so that unconsciously we tend to emphasize his merits while we touch lightly upon his faults. But after all, this effect is no more than that which his personality wrought upon the minds of contemporary witnesses, who were unanimous in their expressions of esteem for Balboa and of condemnation for the manner of his taking off.

Seven years passed before the work of discovering the golden kingdom was again seriously taken up. It was work of almost insuperable difficulty in the absence of a base of operations upon the Pacific coast of the isthmus; and, as we shall see, men's attention was distracted by the question as

An interval. to the Molucca islands. During this interval of seven years the conquest of Mexico was begun and completed, so far as the towns once tributary to the Aztec Confederacy were concerned. By 1524 the time had arrived when the laurels of Cortes would not allow other knights-errant to sleep, and then Balboa's enterprise was taken up by his old comrade Francisco Pizarro.

This man, like Cortes and Balboa, was a native of the province of Estremadura. He was an illegitimate son of Gonzalo Pizarro, an officer of good family, who had served in Italy under the Great Captain. As the mother of Cortes was a Pizarro, it has been supposed that there was relationship between the two families. Francisco Pizarro, whose mother was a young woman of humble station, was born somewhere between 1470 and 1478. Unlike Cortes, who had some scant allowance of university education, Pizarro had no schooling at all, and never learned to write his own name. His occupation in youth seems to have been that of a swineherd, though he may, according to one doubtful tradition, have accompanied his father in one or more Italian campaigns. His first distinct appearance in history was in Ojeda's expedition in 1509, when he was left in command of the starving party at San Sebastian, to await the arrival of the succours brought by Enciso. He served under Balboa for several years, was with that commander when he first saw the great South Sea, and happened — as we have seen — to be the officer sent out by Pedrarias to arrest him.

In 1515, two years before Balboa's fall, Pizarro took part in an expedition under Gaspar de Morales, sent by Pedrarias to explore the coasts of the gulf of San Miguel. The expedition, as usual, was characterized by wonderful endurance of hardship on the part of the Spaniards and by fiendish cruelty toward the Indians. They invaded the territory of a warlike chief named Birú,

on the southern shore of the gulf, and met with such a hot reception that, although victorious, they did not care to risk a second fight, but retreated to the isthmus. It was some years before the Spaniards got so far south again, and when they had occasion to refer to the unvisited territory beyond the gulf of San Miguel they fell into a habit of speaking of it as the *Birú* or *Perú* country. The golden kingdom, about which there had been so much talk, was said to be somewhere upon that coast, and in such wise it seems to have received its modern name.¹ Not long after Balboa's death Pedrarias learned that Lope de Sosa had at length been appointed governor in his place. It was unwelcome news. The old man had good reason to fear the result of an examination into his conduct. It might be held that in executing Balboa without allowing an appeal to the crown he had exceeded his powers, and the Spanish court sometimes showed itself quite jealous of such encroachments upon its royal prerogative of revision and pardon. There were, moreover, numerous instances of judicial robbery and murder that could easily be brought home to their perpetrator. Accordingly Pedrarias thought it wise to put the mountains between himself and the Atlantic coast, so that in case of necessity he might do just what he had beheaded Vasco Núñez for doing, — quit the dangerous neighbourhood and set up somewhere for himself.

Origin of the name "Peru."

Lope de Sosa appointed to supersede Pedrarias.

¹ See Andagoya's *Narrative*, translated by Markham, London, 1865, p. 42; also Winsor, *Narr. and Crit. Hist.*, ii. 505.

This prudent resolve led to the founding of Panama by Pedrarias in August, 1519. Later in the same year the opposite port of Nombre de Dios was founded, and a rude road through the wilderness, connecting these two places, was begun. When Lope de Sosa arrived at Darien in May, 1520, with 300 men, Pedrarias happened to be on the spot, but was favoured with one of those inscrutable providences that are so apt to come to the rescue of such creatures. Before setting foot on shore the new governor was suddenly taken sick and died in his cabin. This left Pedrarias in office. The newly-arrived *alcalde*, before whom his examination was to take place, published notices and summons in due form for thirty days; but no man was hardy enough to enter complaint against him so long as he still remained invested with the insignia of power. The crafty old governor could thus look on smiling while a certificate that no one accused him was despatched on its way to Spain. Then he retired to Panama, which forthwith became the base for operations along the Pacific coast.

Sudden death
of Lope de
Sosa.

This stroke of fortune gave Pedrarias a new lease of undisputed power for nearly seven years. Meanwhile, as the judge Espinosa was involved along with him in the risk attendant upon the case of Balboa, he had sent that pearl of magistrates to take command of Balboa's little fleet and therein seek safety in a fresh voyage of discovery. As Magellan's voyage had not yet been made and the existence of a broad ocean south and west of the

Espinosa's
voyage in Bal-
boa's ships.

isthmus of Darien was still unknown,¹ the Spaniards upon the isthmus still supposed themselves to be either in eastern Asia or at no great distance from that continent ; and accordingly Espinosa, instead of sailing southward in search of the golden kingdom, turned his prows westward, apparently in the hope of settling the vexed question as to the Spice Islands. This would have required a voyage of nearly 11,000 English miles. After accomplishing some 500 miles, as far as Cape Blanco, in what is now the state of Costa Rica, Espinosa returned to the isthmus late in 1519.

Just at that time the controversy over the Moluccas was occupying a foremost place in the public attention. It was on the 10th of August, 1519, that Magellan started on his epoch-making voyage.

Earlier in that year one of Balboa's pilots, Andres Niño, was at the Spanish court, urging that the ships of his late commander might be sent to find the Spice Islands. On the 18th of June a royal order was issued, authorizing such an expedition and entrusting the command of it to Gil Gonzalez Dávila, a man of high reputation for ability and integrity.

How fortunate it was for Magellan that his theory of the situation led him far away to the southward, subject indeed to trials as hard as ever man encountered, but safe from the wretched intrigues and savage conflicts of authority that were raging in Central America ! Had he chosen the route of Gil Gonzalez he would have begun

¹ It must be remembered that Balboa could not see across the ocean.

by encountering obstacles more vexatious, if not more insuperable, than those of the lonely and barren sea. When Gil Gonzalez arrived at Acla in the spring of 1520 and demanded the ships that had been Balboa's, Pedrarias refused to give them up. The death of Lope de Sosa confirmed the old man in this contumacy; so that nothing was left for Gil Gonzalez but to build and equip ships for himself. A flotilla, constructed with incredible toil, was destroyed by worms and weather. The dauntless Gil Gonzalez built a second, consisting of four small vessels, and early in 1522 he set sail for the coveted Moluccas. After eighteen months he returned to Panama, loaded with gold, after having discovered the coast of Nicaragua as far as the bay of Fonseca. As he crossed the isthmus, Pedrarias, in a frenzy of greed, sent officers to arrest him, but he eluded them and got safely to Hispaniola. Troubles of Gil Gonzalez.

There he was authorized to return and take possession of Nicaragua. This time he approached it from the north by way of the Honduras coast, in order to avoid the isthmus and its dangerous governor. But among the vices of Pedrarias listlessness and sloth were not included. He laid claim to Nicaragua by reason of the prior voyage of Espinosa, and had already despatched Francisco Hernandez de Córdova,¹ with a considerable force, to occupy that country. Córdova's second in com-

¹ He must not be confounded with his namesake Francisco Hernandez de Córdova, the discoverer of Yucatan, mentioned above, p. 240. The latter, it will be remembered, died of his wounds on returning from his ill-starred voyage in 1517.

mand was Fernando de Soto, a young man whom we shall meet again more than once in the course of our story. Gil Gonzalez, marching down from the north, encountered Soto and defeated him, but was afterwards obliged to retire before Córdova's superior force. Retreating into Honduras, Gil Gonzalez was captured by Cristóval de Olid, whom Cortes had sent from Mexico to occupy that country. A wild scramble ensued, — every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost. Córdova threw off his allegiance to Pedrarias, but in an incredibly short time that alert octogenarian had come to Nicaragua and the severed head of the insubordinate lieutenant, thrust aloft upon a pole, was baking in the sun. Olid threw off his allegiance to Cortes, and was presently assassinated, probably with the complicity of Gil Gonzalez, who forthwith tried to come to an understanding with the conqueror of Mexico as to the boundary between their respective provinces. At this juncture Gil Gonzalez was seized by some of Olid's friends and sent to Spain to be tried for murder. Arriving at Seville in 1526, the strength of this much-enduring man suddenly gave way, and he died of hardship and grief.

His death.

The voyage of Magellan, revealing the breadth of the ocean between America and Asia, destroyed the illusion as to the nearness of the Moluccas ; and the discovery of Nicaragua convinced the Spaniards on the isthmus of Darien that there was no use in sending expeditions to the westward, inasmuch as the way was

Attention
again turned
to the golden
kingdom.

closed and the ground preoccupied by the conquerors of Mexico. Their attention was thus turned decisively to the southward, whence fresh rumours of the wealth of the Incas had lately reached their ears. In 1522 Pascual de Andagoya crossed the gulf of San Miguel and gathered much information concerning the golden kingdom. A voyage of discovery to the southward was projected, and as Andagoya was completely disabled by an attack of acute rheumatism, Pizarro formed a partnership with a couple of his friends, Almagro and Luque, and Pedrarias entrusted to them the enterprise. Diego Almagro, a man of unknown parentage, was probably not less than fifty years old. Of fiery but generous disposition, he had the gift of attaching men to his fortunes, but there is little to be said in praise of his intelligence or his character. As compared with Cortes and Balboa, or with the humane and virtuous Andagoya, both Pizarro and Almagro were men of low type. The third partner, Fernando de Luque, a clergyman, at Panama, was associated in the enterprise as a kind of financial agent, contributing funds on his own account and also on that of the judge Espinosa.

The distance to the land of the Incas was much greater than had been supposed, and the first expedition, which started in 1524, returned in a very dilapidated state, having proceeded as far as the mouth of the river San Juan, scarcely one third of the way to Tumbez. On the second expedition, in 1526, Pizarro landed most of his men at the San Juan,

Pizarro and Almagro start in search of the golden kingdom.

while he sent his pilot Bartholomew Ruiz forward in one of the two ships, and Almagro in the other went back to Panama for reinforcements and provisions. Ruiz, after crossing the equator¹ and coming within sight of the snow-clad summit of Chimborazo, returned to Pizarro with some native Peruvians whom he had captured on a sailing-raft. The story of the grandeur of the Inca kingdom was confirmed afresh by these men.

These things were going on while Pedrarias was wielding his headsman's axe in Nicaragua.

Death of
Pedrarias. About this time he was really deposed from his government at Panama, but by dint of skilful chicanery he succeeded in keeping possession of Nicaragua for four years more, committing cruelties worthy of Nero, until his baleful career was ended by a natural death in 1530.

Having obtained from the new governor, Pedro de los Rios, fresh men and supplies, Almagro returned to the San Juan, where he found his comrades nearly dead with hunger. Explorers and military men will all agree that it is not easy to carry on operations at a distance of a thousand miles from one's base. In those dreary expeditions each step in advance necessitated a step backward, and the discouragement must have been hard to endure. On the third start the adventurers coasted nearly down to the equator and

¹ In Mr. Markham's chapter on the Conquest of Peru in Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History*, vol. ii. p. 507, Ruiz is said to have been "the first European to cross the equator on the Pacific Ocean." Magellan had crossed it five years before from south to north. *Aliquando dormitat bonus Homerus.*

were finding more frequent symptoms of civilization upon the shores they passed, when at length it became necessary to send back again to Panama. Again Pizarro halted, this time upon the little island of Gallo, until his partner should return. After many weeks of misery spent under the drenching tropical rain, the starving men descried a white sail in the offing ; but it was not Almagro. The governor, disgusted at such a prolonged wild-goose chase, had detained that commander, and sent a ship with strict orders to bring back Pizarro and all his men. For the most part the weary creatures had lost heart for their work, and were eager to go. But the

The scene at
Gallo.

dogged Pizarro, whose resolution had kept stiffening with each breath of adversity, refused to budge. Drawing an east-and-west line upon the sandy beach with the point of his long sword, he briefly observed that to the south of that line lay danger and glory, to the north of it ease and safety ; and, calling upon his men to choose each for himself, he stepped across. Sixteen staunch men followed their commander ;¹ the rest embarked and went

¹ The names of the sixteen have been preserved, and may be found, with brief biographical notices, in Winsor, *op. cit.* ii. 510. Among them, fortunately, was the daring and skilful pilot Ruiz. A second was the Cretan artillery officer, Pedro de Candia, whose son was afterwards, at Cuzco, a schoolmate of Garcilasso de la Vega, the historian. Garcilasso relates the incident with much precision of detail, Sir Arthur Helps is inclined to dismiss it as theatrical and improbable. Perhaps he would regard Pedro de Candia's testimony as worthless anyway, in view of the old adage *Κρήτες ἀεὶ ψεύσται*. Seriously, however, the evidence (including that of Pizarro's secretary Xeres) seems to be very good indeed, and as for the melodramatic character of the story, it must be

on their way. After they had gone Pizarro and his comrades made a raft and paddled to the island of Gorgona, where they lived on such shell-fish as they could find upon the shore, and now and then shot a passing bird.

When the ship arrived at Panama without them, Los Rios declared that he would leave such fool-hardy creatures to their fate ; but he was presently persuaded to send another ship, which found Pizarro and his party after they had staid seven months upon Gorgona. The skill of the pilot Ruiz now came into play, and in this little ship the party made a voyage of discovery, landed at Tumbez, and admired the arts and wealth of one of the most important of the Inca's cities. Thence they continued coasting beyond the site of Trujillo, more than 600 miles south of the equator, when, having seen enough to convince them that they had actually found the golden kingdom, they returned to Panama, carrying with them live llamas, fine garments of vicuña wool, curiously wrought vases of gold and silver, and two or three young Peruvians to be taught to speak Spanish and serve as interpreters.

Enough had now been ascertained to make it desirable for Pizarro to go to Spain and put the

borne in mind that the sixteenth century was a theatrical age, i. e. the sober realities of that time are theatrical material for our own. It is interesting and curious to see how differently Mr. Prescott regards Pizarro's act : — "He announced his own purpose in a laconic but decided manner, characteristic of a man more accustomed to act than to talk, and well calculated to make an impression on his rough followers." — *Conquest of Peru*, Book II. chap. iv.

enterprise upon a more independent footing. On his arrival at Seville in the summer of 1528, it was his luck to encounter the lawyer Enciso, who straightway clapped him into jail for a small debt which dated from the found-^{Pizarro's visit to Spain.} ing of Darien some eighteen years before. But the discoverer of Peru was now in high favour at court; so the man of red tape was snubbed, and Pizarro went on to Toledo to pay his respects to the emperor. The story of his romantic adventures made him the hero of the hour. He was ennobled by letters patent, and so were the comrades who had crossed the line with him at Gallo. He was appointed captain-general and *adelantado* of Peru, titles which he was to make good by conquering that country for thrifty Charles V.; and so in 1530 he returned to Panama, taking with him his four brothers and a small party of enthusiastic followers.

Of all the brothers Fernando was the eldest and the only legitimate son of his father. His character has perhaps suffered somewhat at the hands of historians through the sympathy that has been generally felt for the misfortunes of his enemy, the "under dog," Almagro. Fernando Pizarro was surely the ablest and most intelligent of the family. He had received a good education. To say that he was not more harsh or unscrupulous than his brethren is faint com-^{The Pizarro brothers.} mendation; but there were times when he showed signal clemency. Gonzalo and Juan Pizarro were full brothers of Francisco, but much younger; Martinez de Alcántara was son of the same frail

mother by a different father. As soldiers all were conspicuous for bull-dog tenacity and ranked among the bravest of the brave.

It was with an ill grace that Almagro saw so many of his partner's family coming to share in the anticipated glory and booty. He instantly recognized Fernando's commanding influence and felt himself in a measure thrust into the background. Thus the seeds of a deadly feud were not long in sowing themselves.

In December, 1531, the Pizarros started in advance, with about 200 men and 50 horses. When they arrived at Tumbez in the following spring, they learned that a civil war was raging. The conquering Inca, Huayna Capac, had died in 1523 and was succeeded by his lawful heir Huascar, son of his Coya, or only legitimate wife. The next in succession, according to Peruvian rules, seems

to have been Manco, of whom we shall have more to say presently. But the late Inca had a son by one of his concubines, the daughter of a vanquished chief or tribal king of the Quitus; and this son Atahualpa had been a favourite with his father. When Huascar came to the throne, Atahualpa was made ruler of Quito, apparently in accordance with his father's wishes. Under no circumstances was Atahualpa eligible for the position of reigning Inca. He was neither the child of a Coya nor of a woman of pure Inca blood, but of a foreign woman, and was therefore an out and out bastard. About three years before the arrival of the Spaniards, however, Atahualpa, with the aid of two powerful chief-

Seeds of
strife.

Civil war in
Peru and usur-
pation of
Atahualpa.



tains, Quizquiz and Chalcuchima, left his own territory and marched upon Cuzco. The war which ensued was characterized by wholesale barbarity. At length Atahualpa's chieftains defeated and captured the Inca, and, entering Cuzco in triumph, massacred his family and friends as far as they could be found. But the Inca Huascar himself they did not put to death, for they realized that it might be necessary to use him as an instrument for governing the country.¹ Atahualpa put on the tasselled crimson cap, or Inca diadem, and proceeding on his way to Cuzco had arrived at Caxamarca, when couriers brought him news of the

Arrival of the
Spaniards. white and bearded strangers coming up from the sea, clad in shining panoply, riding upon unearthly monsters, and wielding deadly thunderbolts. The new-comers were everywhere regarded with extreme wonder and dread, but their demeanour toward the natives had been in the main friendly, as the Pizarros understood the necessity of enforcing strict discipline.

Plainly it was worth while to court the favour of these mysterious beings, and Atahualpa sent as an envoy his brother Titu Atauchi with presents and words of welcome. Pizarro had been reinforced by Fernando de Soto with 100 men and a fresh supply of horses; he had built a small fortress near the mouth of the Piura river, to serve as a base of operations; and late in September, 1532, he had started on his march into the interior, with about two thirds of his little force. Titu found

¹ Somewhat as Cortes used Montezuma; see Garcilasso, *Commentarios reales*, pt. i. lib. ix. cap. xxxvi.

him at Zaran, a village among the foothills of the Andes. When Garcilasso¹ tells us that the envoy humbled himself before Pizarro and addressed him as "son of Viracocha," he reveals the theory which the Peruvians doubtless held concerning the new-comers.

They were supposed to be "sons of Viracocha."

Viracocha was the counterpart of Zeus, the sky-god, arising from the sea-foam, the power that gathers the clouds and delights in thunder. Like Apollo and other Greek solar deities he was conceived as fair in complexion with bright or golden hair. After the conquest of Peru the name *viracocha* passed into a common noun meaning "white man," and it is still used in this sense at the present day.² For the red man to call the white stranger a child of Viracocha might under some circumstances be regarded as a form of ceremonious politeness, or the phrase might even be a mere descriptive epithet; but under the circumstances of Titu's visit to Pizarro we can hardly doubt that the new-comers were really invested with supernatural terrors, that the feeling of the Peruvians was like that which had led the Mexicans at first to take it for granted that their visitors must be children of Quetzalcoatl. Upon any other supposition it does not seem possible to understand the events that followed.

After receiving and dismissing the envoy with assurances of friendship, Pizarro pushed on through the mountains and entered Caxamarca on the 15th of November. It was a town of about 2,000 in-

¹ *Comentarios reales*, pt. ii. lib. i. cap. xix.

² Brinton, *Myths of the New World*, p. 180.

habitants.¹ The houses were chiefly of adobe brick with thatched roofs, but some were built of hewn stones laid together without cement. Around the great open square, which might serve as market-place or mustering ground, were what the Spaniards called capacious barracks. Hard by was a temple of the Sun, with a convent of vestals charged with the care of the sacred fire. The town was overlooked by a circular tower of defence, girt with a rampart ascending spirally, somewhat, I fancy, as in old pictures of the tower of Babel. On a rising ground some two miles distant was encamped Atahualpa's army, — some thousands of Indians in quilted cotton doublets, with bucklers of stiff hide, long bronze-pointed lances and copper-headed clubs, as well as bows, slings, and lassos, in the use of which these warriors were expert. Toward nightfall Fernando Pizarro and Fernando de Soto, with five-and-thirty horsemen, went to visit the self-styled Inca in his quarters, and found him surrounded with chieftains and bedizened female slaves. After introducing themselves and inviting Atahualpa to a conference with their commander next day in the market-place, the cavaliers withdrew. On both sides the extreme of ceremonious politeness had been observed.² Surely so strange an interview was never

¹ It is well described in "A True Account of the Province of Cuzco," by Pizarro's secretary, Francisco de Xeres, in Markham's *Reports on the Discovery of Peru*, London, 1872 (Hakluyt Society).

² Except for a moment when Soto's steed, at the malicious and prudent touch of his rider's spur, pranced and curvetted, to the intense dismay of half-a-dozen dusky warriors, whom Atahualpa, after the departure of the visitors, promptly beheaded for show-

seen save when Montezuma ushered Cortes into the city of Mexico. Between the two cases there was an essential likeness. It is clear that Atahualpa and his men were paralyzed with superstitious dread, while the Spaniards on their part were well aware that according to all military principles they had thrust themselves into a very dangerous position. As they looked out that anxious night upon the mountain-slope before them, gleaming with innumerable watch-fires, we are told that many were profoundly dejected. The leaders saw that there must not be a moment's delay in taking advantage of the superstitious fears of the Indians. They must at once get possession of this Inca's person. Here, of course, the Pizarros took their cue from Cortes. In repeating the experiment they showed less subtlety and more brutality than the conqueror of Mexico; and while some allowance must be made for differences in the situation, one feels nevertheless that the native wit of Cortes had a much keener edge than that of his imitators.

Atahualpa must have passed the night in quite as much uneasiness as the Spaniards. When he came next day strongly escorted into the market-place he found no one to receive him, for Pizarro had skillfully concealed his men in the neighbouring houses. Presently a solitary white man, the priest Valverde, came forth to greet the Inca, and proceeded — through one of the interpreters here — ing fright (Zarate, *Conquista del Peru*, ii. 4); an interesting touch of human nature! Garcilasso (pt. i. lib. ix. cap. xvi.) gives a vivid account of the uncontrollable agonies of terror with which the Peruvians regarded horses.

tofore mentioned — to read him a long-winded disquisition on dogmatic theology and church history, beginning with the creation of Adam and passing stage by stage to the calling of St. Peter, and so on to the bull by which Alexander VI. had given the kingdom of the Incas (along with other realms too numerous to mention) to the Most Catholic King. In conclusion Atahualpa was summoned, under penalty of fire and sword, to acknowledge the papal supremacy and pay tribute to Charles V.¹ Of this precious rigmarole the would-be Inca probably fathomed just enough to be convinced that the mysterious strangers, instead of being likely to lend him aid, were an obstacle of unknown strength to be reckoned with; and in a fit of petulant disappointment he threw upon the ground the Bible which the priest had handed him. As soon as this was reported to Pizarro the war-cry “Santiago!” resounded, the ambushed Spaniards rushed forth and seized Atahualpa, and for two hours a butchery went on in which some hundreds of his bewildered followers perished.

The success of this blow was such as the wildest imagination could not have foreseen. Here at the crisis of the war the superhuman “sons of Viracocha” had come upon the scene and taken matters into their own hands. They held the person of the sacrilegious usurper Atahualpa, and men

¹ There is a good abstract of this speech, with some eminently sound critical remarks, in Helps’s *Spanish Conquest*, vol. iii. pp. 533–541. Compare the famous *Requerimiento* of Dr. Palacios Rubios, *id.*, vol. i. pp. 379–384.

who had rashly come too near them had been slain with unearthly weapons, struck down as if by lightning. The people were dumb and helpless. The strangers treated Atahualpa politely, and such edicts as they issued through him were obeyed in some parts of the country.

His first thought was naturally for his liberation. Confined in a room twenty-two feet in length by seventeen in width, he made a mark upon the wall as high as he could reach with his hand, and offered as ransom gold enough to fill the room up to that height. Pizarro accepted the offer, and the gold began to be collected, largely in the shape of vases and other ornaments of temples. But it came in more slowly than Atahualpa had expected, and in June, 1533, the stipulated quantity was not yet complete. In some towns the priests dismantled the sacred edifices and hid their treasures, waiting apparently for the crisis to pass. The utter paralysis of the people in presence of the white men was scarcely matched by anything in the story of Cortes. While the treasure was collecting, Fernando Pizarro, with twenty horsemen and half-a-dozen arquebusiers, made a journey of four hundred miles through the heart of the country to the famous temple of Pachacamac, and although they boldly desecrated the sacred shrine they went and came unmolested!¹

Ransom collected for Atahualpa.

¹ The people believed that no one but the consecrated priests of Pachacamac could enter the shrine of the wooden idol without instantly perishing. So when Fernando Pizarro coolly walked in and smashed the "graven image," and had the shrine demolished, and made the sign of the cross as "an invincible weapon against the Devil," they concluded that he must be a god who knew

Soon after Fernando's return to Caxamarca, in April, Almagro arrived at that town, with his party of 150 soldiers and 84 horses. In June the enormous spoil of gold, equivalent to more than \$15,000,000 in modern reckoning, besides a vast amount of silver, was divided among the children of the sky-god. Almagro's newly arrived men wished to share equally with the others, and as they were obliged to content themselves with a much smaller portion, there was fresh occasion for ill-feeling between Almagro and the Pizarros.

Fernando Pizarro was now sent to Spain with the emperor's share of the plunder. Atahualpa placed more trust in him than in the others, and gave expression to a fear that his own safety was imperilled by his departure. The atmosphere

Murder of
the captive
Inca Huascar
by Atahualpa. seems to have been heavy with intrigue. From Cuzco the imprisoned Inca Huascar offered the Spaniards a treasure still larger than they had as yet received, on condition that they would set him free and support him against Atahualpa. The latter heard of this, and soon afterward Huascar was secretly murdered. At the same time the Spaniards, still uneasy and suspicious, as was natural, had reason to believe that Atahualpa was privately sending forth instructions to his chieftains to arouse their parts of the country. When one is driven to despair, one is ready to fight even against sky-gods. Pizarro saw that it would not do for

what he was about, and with whom it would be unsafe to interfere. See Squier's *Peru*, p. 65; Markham, *Reports on the Discovery of Peru*, London, 1872, p. 83.

a moment to allow such proceedings. A savage display of power seemed necessary ; and so Atahualpa, having been brought to trial for conspiracy against the white men, for the murder of his brother, and for divers other crimes, even including idolatry and polygamy, was duly convicted and sentenced to be burned at the stake. On his consenting to accept baptism the sentence was commuted for a milder one, and on the 29th of August, in the public square at Caxamarca, Atahualpa, was strangled with a bow-string. At this time Fernando de Soto was absent ; on his return he denounced the execution as both shameful and rash. As to the shameful of the transaction modern historians can have but one opinion. Personal sympathy, of course, would be wasted upon such a bloodthirsty wretch as Atahualpa ; but as for the Spaniards, it would seem that perfidy could no farther go than to accept an enormous ransom from a captive and then put him to death. As a question of military policy, divorced from considerations of morality, the case is not so clear. The Spaniards were taking possession of Peru by the same sort of right as that by which the lion springs upon his prey ; there was nothing that was moral about it, and their consciences were at no time scrupulous as to keeping faith with heretics or with heathen. They were guided purely by considerations of their own safety and success, and they slew Atahualpa in the same spirit that Napoleon murdered the Duke d'Enghien, because they deemed it good policy to do so. In this Pizarro and Almagro

Atahualpa
put to death
by the Span-
iards.

were agreed ; Soto and a few others were of a different opinion, and it is not easy now to tell which side conceived the military situation most correctly.

In order to control the country Pizarro must control the person of the Inca, and that sovereign must understand that to conspire against the "sons of Viracocha" was simply to bring down sure and swift destruction upon himself. There was reason for believing that Atahualpa's usurped authority was not so willingly recognized by the country as that of the genuine Inca ; and Pizarro had expressed an intention of bringing Huascar to Caxamarca and deciding between his claims and those of Atahualpa, when his purpose was frustrated by the assassination of the former. It thus appears that there was a valid political reason for holding Atahualpa responsible for the murder.

For the present Pizarro proclaimed Toparca, one of Atahualpa's sons, but the lad fell sick and died within a few weeks. Symptoms of anarchy were here and there manifested ; in some towns there were riots, and distant chieftains prepared to throw off their allegiance. On the march to Cuzco, which began late in September, the Spaniards, now about 500 in number, were for the first time attacked. The assailants were 6,000 Indians, led by Atahualpa's brother, Titu Atauchi, but the Spaniards beat them off without serious loss. Pizarro laid the blame of this attack upon the chieftain Chalcuchima, whom he had with him, and the Indian was accordingly burned at the stake for

an example. A few days afterward, Manco, already mentioned as next to Huascar in the customary line of succession, came to the Spanish camp and made his submission in due form. It was a great and decisive triumph for Pizarro. He lost no time in proclaiming the new Inca under the style of Manco Capac Yupanqui, and on the 15th of November, 1533, the sovereign and his supernatural guardians made a solemn entry into Cuzco, where the usual inaugural ceremonies and festivities took place. It was the anniversary of Pizarro's entry into Caxamarca. In that one eventful year he had overthrown the usurper, and now, as he placed the crimson cap upon the head of the legitimate Inca, might it not seem that he had completed the conquest of the golden kingdom? Relying upon the superstitious awe which had helped him to such an astounding result, he ventured in the course of the next four months to set up a Spanish municipal government in Cuzco, to seize upon divers houses and public buildings for his followers, and to convert the Temple of the Sun into a Dominican monastery.

The true Inca, Manco, makes his submission, and is inaugurated at Cuzco by Pizarro.

The chieftain Quizquiz, with a portion of Atahualpa's forces, held out against the new Inca, whereupon Almagro in a brief campaign drove him into the Quito territory and overpowered him. Meanwhile the news of all these wonderful events had reached the ears of Pedro de Alvarado in Guatemala, and not yet satiated with adventure, that cavalier, with 500 followers, sailed for the South American coast, landed in

Pedro de Alvarado.

the bay of Caraquez, and after a terrible march through the wilderness, in which one fourth of the number perished, he came up with Almagro at Riobamba. After some parley, as his men showed symptoms of deserting to Almagro, Alvarado came to the conclusion that it would be wiser not to interfere in this part of the world. He consented to be bought off for a good round sum, and went back to Guatemala, leaving most of his men to recruit the Spanish forces in Peru.

The arrival of Fernando Pizarro in Spain, with his load of gold and his tale of adventure, aroused such excitement as had hardly been felt since the return of Columbus from his first voyage across the Sea of Darkness. Again Span-
Effect of the news in Spain. iards began flocking to the New World, and ships plied frequently between Panama and the shores of the Inca's country. For commercial purposes a seat of government on the coast was preferable to Cuzco, and accordingly on the 6th of January, 1535, Francisco Pizarro founded the city of Lima. While he was busy in laying out streets and putting up houses his brother Fernando returned from Spain. Francisco had been created a marquis and the territory subject to his government had been described in the royal patent as extending southward 270 leagues from the river Santiago, in latitude 1° 20' north. Provision had also been made for Almagro, but in such wise as to get him as far out of the way as possible. He was appointed governor of the country to the south of Pizarro's, with the title of marshal. Pizarro's province was to be called New Castile;

Almagro's, which covered Chili, or the greater part of it, was to be called New Toledo.

Thus with fair phrases Almagro was virtually set aside; he was told that he might go and conquer a new and unknown country for himself, while the rich country already won was

to be monopolized by the Pizarros. Almagro's disgust; he starts for Chili.

Theirs was the bird in the hand, his the bird in the bush; and no wonder that his wrath waxed hot against Fernando. In this mood he insisted that at any rate the city of Cuzco fell south of the boundary-line, and therefore within his jurisdiction. This was not really the case, though its nearness to the line afforded ground for doubt, and something might depend upon the way in which the distance from the river Santiago was measured. Almagro was a weak man, apt to be swayed by the kind of argument that happened to be poured into his ears for the moment. At first he was persuaded to abandon his claim to Cuzco, and in the autumn of 1535 he started on his march for Chili, with 200 Spaniards and a large force of Indians led by the Inca's brother Paullu, and accompanied by the high priest or Villac Umu. There were to be stirring times before his return.

Three years had now elapsed since the seizure of Atahualpa, and two since the coronation of Manco, and quiet seems to have been generally maintained. But the Inca's opinion as to the character and business of the white strangers must needs have been modified by what was going on. If at first he may have welcomed their aid in

overthrowing the rival party and helping him to his throne, he could now see unmistakable signs that they had come to stay. Spaniards were arriving by the ship-load; they were building towns, seizing estates and enslaving the people, despoiling temples, and otherwise comporting themselves as odious masters. Mere familiarity must have done something toward dispelling the glamour which had at first surrounded and protected them. *Æsop's* fox nearly died of fright on first seeing a lion, but by and by made bold to go up to him and ask him how he did. In an emergency it might be worth while to test the power of the new tyrants and see if they were really the sacred children of Viracocha. The departure of Almagro for Chili offered a favourable moment for an insurrection, and there is no doubt that the plans of the Inca and his friends were deliberately concerted. Almagro had not proceeded many days' march when Paullu and the Villac Umu deserted him with their Indians and hurried back toward Cuzco, while at the same time the Inca succeeded in escaping from the city. Now ensued the only serious warfare between Spaniard and Indian which the conquest of Peru involved. With astonishing suddenness and vehemence the rebellion broke out in many parts of the country, so that the communication between Cuzco and Lima was cut, and for some months the Spaniards in the one town did not know whether their friends in the other were alive or dead. Francisco Pizarro at Lima was fain to call for succour from Panama, Guatemala,

Manco plans
an insurrec-
tion.

and Mexico. The Inca occupied the great Sacsahuaman fortress overlooking Cuzco, and laid siege to the city, where Fernando was in command, with his brothers Gonzalo and Juan. For six months, from February

*The Spaniards
besieged in
Cuzco.*

to August, 1536, the siege was closely pressed. There were frequent and vigorous assaults, and how the little band of Spaniards contrived to maintain themselves against such terrible odds is one of the marvels of history. They not only held their own within the walls, but made effective sorties. Such prodigies of valour have rarely been seen except in those books of chivalry that turned Don Quixote's brain. Juan Pizarro was slain in an assault upon the fortress, but Fernando at length succeeded in taking it by storm. After a while the Inca began to find it difficult to feed so many mouths. As September

*Total defeat
of the Inca.*

approached, it was necessary, in order to avoid a famine, for large numbers to go home and attend to their planting. With his force thus reduced the Inca retired into the valley of Yucay, where he encountered Almagro returning from Chili. A battle ensued, and Manco was defeated with great slaughter.

Almagro's men, after penetrating more than three hundred miles into Chili, and enduring the extremes of cold and hunger, without finding wealthy towns or such occasions for pillage as they expected, had at length begun to murmur, and finally they persuaded their leader to return and renew his claim to Cuzco. He arrived in time to complete the dis-

*Almagro re-
turns and
seizes Cuzco.*

comfiture of the Inca, and then appeared before that city. He was refused admission, and an agreement was made by which he promised to remain encamped outside until the vexed question of jurisdiction could be peaceably determined. Some months of inaction passed, but at length, in April, 1537, Almagro was led to believe, perhaps correctly, that Fernando Pizarro was secretly strengthening the works, with the intention of holding the city against him. Almagro thereupon treated the agreement as broken, seized the city by surprise, and took Fernando and Gonzalo prisoners.

This act was the beginning of a period of eleven years of civil disturbance, in the course of which all the principal actors were swept off the stage, as in some cheap blood-and-thunder tragedy. For our purposes it is not worth while to recount the petty incidents of the struggle, — how Almagro was at one moment ready to submit to arbitration and the next moment refused to abide by the decision ; how Fernando was set at liberty and Gonzalo escaped ; how Almagro's able lieutenant, Rodrigo de Orgoñez, won a victory over Pizarro's men at Abançay, but was totally defeated by Fer-

Civil war ; execution of Almagro ; and final defeat of the Inca.

nando Pizarro at Las Salinas and perished on the field ; how at last Fernando had Almagro tried for sedition and summarily executed. On which side was the more violence and treachery it would be hard to say. Indeed, as Sir Arthur Helps observes, "in this melancholy story it is difficult to find anybody whom the reader can sympathize much with." So far as our story of the conquest

of Peru is concerned, we may observe the Spaniards once, in a leisure interval among their own squabbles, turning their attention to it! After his victory at Abançay in July, 1537, Orgoñez completed the overthrow of the Inca Manco, scattered his army, and drove him to an inaccessible fastness in the mountains.

Almagro's execution was in July, 1538, and the next year Fernando Pizarro thought it prudent to return to Castile, with an enormous quantity of gold, and give his own account of the late troubles. But, as already observed, the Spanish government was liable to resent too summary measures on the part of its servants in the Indies, and much depended upon the kind of information it obtained in the first place. On this occasion it got its first impressions from friends of Almagro, and it fared ill with the other side. Fernando was kept under surveillance at Medina del Campo for more than twenty years, and was then allowed to go home to his estate in Estremadura, where he died in 1578, at the age, it is said, of one hundred and four years.

How Fernando Pizarro was received in Spain.

After his brother's departure the Marquis Pizarro had some further trouble with the Inca, who from time to time renewed a desultory warfare among the mountains. It was but a slight annoyance, however. Peru was really conquered, and Pizarro was able to send out expeditions to great distances. In March, 1540, Pedro de Valdivia set out for Chili and remained there seven years, in the course of which he founded Valparaiso (September 3, 1544) and other towns, and

for the moment seemed to have conquered the country. Nevertheless it was here that the Spaniards encountered more formidable opposition than anywhere else in America. On Valdivia's return to his colony in 1549 its very existence was imperilled by the assaults of the Araucanians. These valiant Indians, led by their illustrious chieftains, Caupolican and Lautaro, maintained a warfare which has been celebrated in the famous epic poem of Alonso de Ercilla, who was one of the Spanish officers engaged.¹ In this struggle Valdivia perished. Other governors until the end of the century found the Araucanians unconquerable; and, indeed, even to the present day this aboriginal American people may boast, with the Montenegrins of the Balkan peninsula, that they have never bent their necks to the yoke of the foreigner.

To return to the Marquis Pizarro: in 1539 he put his brother Gonzalo in command over the province of Quito, which had been conquered by Benalcazar, and on Christmas of that year Gonzalo started to explore the cinnamon forests to the eastward. A memorable affair it was, and placed this Pizarro in a conspicuous place among men of incredible endurance. His little army of 350 Spaniards (attended at the outset by 4,000 Indians) crossed the Andes and plunged deeper and deeper into the wilderness, until food grew scarce. Then, lured

Valdivia's
conquest of
Chili.

Expedition of
Gonzalo Pi-
zarro in search
of El Dorado.

¹ Ercilla, *La Araucana*, Madrid, 1776, 2 vols. 12°. Lope de Vega wrote a play on the same subject, "*Arauco Domado*," in his *Comedias*, tom. xx., Madrid, 1629.

on by false reports of a rich and fruitful country ahead (mayhap, another golden kingdom! why not?) they pressed onward, with great exertion built a small vessel capable of carrying part of their company and their baggage, and so, partly on water, partly on land, made their way down the Napo river, one of the tributaries of the Amazon. Hearing now that the rich country was to be found at the confluence of the Napo with the greater river, Gonzalo sent Francisco de Orellana ahead with fifty men in the brigantine to gather supplies, and return. When Orellana reached the region in question he found scant sustenance there, and decided that it would be impossible to force his vessel back against the powerful current. It was easier to keep on down stream and see if some golden kingdom might not be found

Orellana's descent of the Amazon.

upon its banks. So Orellana basely left his comrades in the lurch, and sailed down the Amazon 4,000 miles to its mouth, a most astounding exploit in the navigation of an unknown and very dangerous river. Escaping the perils of starvation, shipwreck, and savages, Orellana came out upon the ocean and made his way to the island of Cubagua, whence he went soon afterward to Spain, and succeeded in raising an expedition to return and make conquests in the Amazon country,¹ but his death and the remonstrances of Portugal frustrated this attempt.

¹ "The name of river of the Amazons was given to it because Orellana and his people beheld the women on its banks fighting as valiantly as the men. . . . It is not that there are Amazons on that river, but that they said there were, by reason of the valour of the women." Garcilasso (Markham's transl.), lib. viii. cap. xxi.

One of Orellana's companions, who had boldly denounced as cowardly and treacherous his intention of deserting Pizarro, was left behind to starve in the forest, but contrived to keep himself alive till Gonzalo arrived at the mouth of the Napo, and found him, a mere skeleton. On learning his story it became evident that there was nothing to do but make the best of their way back to Quito. After one of the most terrible marches recorded in history, a march in which more than two thirds of the company perished, Gonzalo brought the famished survivors into Quito in June, 1542, and there he was met by unwelcome news. During the two and a half years of his absence great changes had taken place.

For a time everything had gone prosperously with Francisco Pizarro. The rage for silver and gold had brought thousands of Spaniards into the country, and by taking advantage of the system of military roads and posts already existing, they were soon better able than the Incas had ever been to hold all that territory in complete subjection. Pizarro was fond of building and gardening, and took much interest in introducing European cereals and other vegetables into Peru. While he was engaged in such occupations his enemies were laying plots. His brother Fernando, on leaving the country, had warned him against the "men of Chili," as Almagro's partisans were called. But the marquis did not profit by the warning. A man of tact, like Cortes, would have won over these malcontents by extending to them judicious favours and making

Gonzalo's return to Quito.

The Marquis Pizarro and the "men of Chili."

them feel it to be for their interest to come to his support. But Pizarro had neither the generosity nor the sagacity to adopt such a course, nor had he the prudence of his brother Fernando. He treated the men of Chili with rudeness and severity, and still was careless about guarding himself. To such straits, it is said, were some of these men reduced through persecutions that could be traced to Pizarro, that a dozen cavaliers, who happened to have their quarters in the same house, had only one cloak among them, which they used to take their turns in wearing, the cloaked man going out while the others staid at home.¹ After a while some of these ill-used men conspired to murder Pizarro, and on Sunday, June 26, 1541, nineteen of them, led by a very able officer named Juan de Rada, boldly made their way into the governor's palace at Lima just as he was finishing his mid-day dinner, and in a desperate assault, in which several of the conspirators fell under Pizarro's sword, they succeeded in killing the Assassination of Pizarro. sturdy old man, along with his half-brother Alcántara and other friends.² Almagro's illegitimate half-breed son, commonly called "Almagro the lad," was now proclaimed governor of Peru by the conspirators. But his day was a short one. It happened that Charles V. had sent out a learned judge, Vaca de Castro, to advise with Pizarro concerning the government of his province, and with characteristic prudence had authorized him in case

¹ Herrera, dec. vi. lib. viii. cap. vi.

² The scene is most graphically described by Prescott, in his *Conquest of Peru*, bk. iv. chap. v.

of Pizarro's death to assume the government himself. Castro had just arrived at Popayan when he was met there by the news of the assassination. Finding himself sure of the allegiance of some of

The "bloody
plains of
Chupas."

Pizarro's principal captains, as Benalcazar and Alonso de Alvarado, he proclaimed himself governor, and in the battle of Chupas, September 16, 1542, he defeated young Almagro, who was forthwith tried for treason and beheaded in the great square at Cuzco.

Gonzalo Pizarro loyally gave in his allegiance to the new governor, and retired to his private estate in Charcas, south of Lake Titicaca. The troubles, however, were not yet over. In the next chapter we shall see how Indian slavery grew up

The New
Laws, and the
rebellion of
Gonzalo
Pizarro.

in the New World, and how through the devoted labours of Las Casas measures were taken for its abolition. It was in 1542 that Las Casas, after a quarter of a century of heroic effort, won his decisive victory in the promulgation of the edicts known as the "New Laws." These edicts, as we shall see, resulted in the gradual abolition of Indian slavery. If they had been put into operation according to their first intent they would have worked an immediate abolition, and the act of confiscation would have applied to nearly all the Spaniards in Peru. The New Laws therefore aroused furious opposition, and the matter was made still worse by the violent temper of the new viceroy, Blasco Nuñez Vela, who arrived in Lima early in 1544, charged with the duty of enforcing them. From arbitrary imprisonment Vela's vio-

lence extended to open and shameless murder, until at length the people rose in rebellion, and Gonzalo Pizarro came forth from his retirement to lead them. After a year of turbulence a battle was fought near Quito, January 18, 1546, in which poor, half-crazed Vela was defeated and slain, and Gonzalo became master of Peru.

But his triumph was short-lived. The Spanish government sent out a wily and smooth-tongued ecclesiastic, a military priest and member of the Council of the Inquisition, Pedro de la Gasca, armed with extensive powers for settling all the vexed questions. Gasca's most effective weapon was the repeal of those clauses of the New Laws which demanded the immediate abolition of slavery. These clauses were repealed, and preparations were made for the compromise hereafter to be described. But for these preliminaries Gasca would probably have accomplished little. As it was, his honeyed tongue found no difficulty in winning over the captains of Pizarro's fleet at Panama. They had been sent there to watch the situation, and, if necessary, to prevent Gasca from proceeding farther, or to bribe him to join Pizarro, or perhaps to seize him and carry him to Peru as a prisoner. But this crafty man, "this Cortes in priestly garments," as Sir Arthur Helps calls him, talked so well that the captains put the fleet at his disposal and conveyed him to Tumbez, where he landed June 13, 1547. It was still open to Pizarro to maintain that he had not taken up arms against the crown, but only against a tyrannical viceroy and in defence of the emperor's loyal

subjects. It was rather a difficult position, but Vela's conduct had been such as to lend it strong support, and had Gonzalo Pizarro been richer in mental resources he might have carried it off successfully. As it was, he had great and not unmerited confidence in his own military ability, and unwisely decided to hold out against Gasca.

For a moment events seemed to favour Pizarro. An able captain, Diego de Centeno, who through all these vicissitudes had remained loyal to the crown, now captured Cuzco for Gasca; whereupon a campaign ensued which ended in the total overthrow of Centeno in the bloody battle of Huarina, near Lake Titicaca, October 20, 1547. This gleam of success was but momentary. Nowhere was the sword to be found that could prevail against Gasca's tongue. Such wholesale defection as suddenly ruined Gonzalo Pizarro has seldom been seen. When he encountered Gasca in person, on the plain of Sacsahuana, April 9, 1548, his soldiers began deserting by scores. As one company after another contrived to slip away and flee into the arms of the royalists, Gonzalo's quaint lieutenant, Carvajal, a weather-beaten veteran of the wars in Italy, kept humming with grim facetiousness the words of an old Spanish ditty:—

Defeat and
execution of
Gonzalo Pi-
zarro.

Estos mis cabellos, madre,
Dos á dos me los lleva el ayre.¹

¹ As Helps renders it, "These my hairs, mother, two by two the breeze carries them away." *Spanish Conquest*, vol. iv. p. 258. The best description of Gonzalo's rebellion is the one given by Helps.

After a faint pretence of fighting, in which fifteen men were killed, Pizarro, finding himself without an army, quietly rode over to Gasca's camp and surrendered himself. On the following day he was beheaded, while old Carvajal, in his eighty-fifth year, was hanged and quartered, and this was the end of the sway of the Pizarros in the land of the Incas. All except Fernando died by violence. The victorious Gasca proved himself an adept in hanging and beheading, but accomplished little else. After his bloody assizes he returned to Spain in 1550, and was rewarded with a bishopric. In 1553 there was a brief epilogue of rebellion in Peru, under the lead of Hernandez Giron, who was beheaded in 1554.

A new era began under the able administration of Andrea Hurtado de Mendoza, Marquis of Cañete, who came out in 1556. The conquest of Peru may with his vicereignty ^{Arrival of Mendoza.} be pronounced complete; in other words, not only had the Indians been conquered, but their unruly conquerors were at last overcome, and into the country, thus reduced to order, more than 8,000 Spaniards had come to stay.

Considering the story of the conquest of Peru as a whole, we cannot but be struck with the slowness of the resistance made by the people. Except for the spirited siege of Cuzco by the Inca Manco, there was no resistance worthy of the name. The conquerors turned temples into churches and enslaved the people, and yet in the midst of this large population a handful of Spaniards were able

to squabble among themselves and kill each other with as little concern as if they had been in an empty country. Evidently this society in which governmental control had been so far developed at the expense of individualism was a society where it did not make much difference to the people what master they served. To conquer such a country it was only necessary to get control of the machinery of administration. I think it may have been a perception of this state of things that encouraged Atahualpa to make his attempt to overthrow the legitimate line of Incas. He doubtless hoped, with the aid of the men of Quito and other imperfectly conquered provinces, to get control of Cuzco and the system of military posts and roads radiating therefrom, believing that thus he could maintain himself in power in spite of the fact that his birth disqualified him for the position of supreme Inca. His success would have been a revolution; and it is instructive to see him trying to provide against the opposition of the Inca caste by keeping the genuine Inca a captive in his hands instead of putting him to death. By thus controlling all the machinery of government, the captive Inca included, Atahualpa evidently had no occasion to fear anything like popular insurrection. Whether his scheme would have succeeded must, of course, remain doubtful; but it is extremely curious to see the Spaniards at the critical moment step in and beat him at his own game, without more than half understanding what they were doing. In capturing Atahualpa there is no doubt

Some reasons why the conquest was so easily accomplished.

that Pizarro took his cue from Cortes, but between the seizure of Atahualpa and that of Montezuma the points of difference were more important than the points of likeness. It is customary to speak of Atahualpa as "the last Inca," and I suppose the fact is commonly forgotten that he was really only governor of Quito, a victorious usurper who had just begun to call himself the Inca, but had not been formally invested with that supreme dignity. Garcilasso expressly declares that the people — by whom he means the members of his own Inca caste and their loyal dependents — were grateful to the white man for overthrowing the usurper who had first captured and finally murdered their true Inca Huascar. "They said that the Spaniards had put the tyrant to death as a punishment and to avenge the Incas; and that the god Viracocha, the father of the Spaniards, had ordered them to do it. This is the reason they called the first Spaniards by the name of Viracocha, and believing they were sons of their god, they respected them so much that they almost worshipped them, and scarcely made any resistance to the conquest." ¹

This explanation, from so high an authority as Garcilasso Inca, shows us clearly why resistance to the Spaniards did not fairly begin until three years after the seizure of Atahualpa; and then, when the legitimate Inca Manco headed the attack upon the Spaniards, not only had their numbers greatly increased, but they had already secured control of a great part of the governmental

¹ Garcilasso, pt. i. lib. v. cap. xxi., Markham's translation.

machinery, and to the mass of the people a mere change of masters was not a matter of vital importance.

After the decisive defeat of Manco Capac by Orgoñez in 1537, that Inca retired to an almost inaccessible fastness in the great fork of the Andes where the river Marañon takes its rise, and there he kept up a kind of court. From that point he now and then made a sudden descent and attacked the Spaniards, but accomplished little or nothing. His end was a strange one, with a touch of the comical. When Juan de Rada and his party were crossing the great square at Lima, on their way to assassinate the Marquis Pizarro, one of the company, a certain Gomez Perez, was observed to step out of the way to avoid wetting his shoes in a puddle. "What!" cried the fierce Rada, "here are we about to wade up to our knees in blood, and you are afraid of a pool of water! Go home, you silly fop, you are no fit company for the like of us!" After the overthrow of young Almagro at Chupas, this Gomez Perez, with others of that faction, took refuge at the Inca's little court in the mountains, where they were hospitably received. On the arrival of Blasco Nuñez Vela in 1544 there were negotiations between that viceroy and the Inca, which resulted in Manco's giving in his allegiance to the Emperor Charles V. Gomez Perez served as the Inca's messenger in these negotiations. He was an ill-mannered fellow, who took no pains to veil his contempt for "coloured men," and he was often rude to the Inca, who usually

Fate of the
Inca Manco.

received his coarse words with quiet dignity. But one day, as the two were playing at ninepins some dispute arose, and the Spaniard became so abusive that Manco gave him a push, exclaiming, "Go away, you forget with whom you are speaking." Without another word Gomez, who had one of the big balls in his hand, hurled it at the Inca's head and killed him on the spot.¹ At the sight of this outrage the Indians who were present, watching the game, fell upon Gomez and slew him. The other Spaniards fled to their quarters, but the enraged Indians set fire to the building, and butchered them all as fast as they were driven out by the flames. Thus ignominiously perished the wretched remnant of the Almagro faction.

Manco was succeeded by his son Sayri Tupac, who for fourteen years continued to hold his court among the mountains. On the arrival of the Marquis of Cañete, negotiations were opened with this Inca, who consented to become a pen-^{End of the Inca dynasty.}sioner of the Spaniards. The valley of Yucay was given him, and there he lived from 1558 until his death in 1560. His brother and successor, Titu Cusi Yupanqui, returned to Manco's mountain lair, and held court there for eleven years, resuming his practical independence. When

¹ Garcilasso, *Comentarios reales*, pt. ii. lib. iv. cap. vii. Mr. Prescott's account of this affair (*Conquest of Peru*, bk. iv. chap. iii.) is slightly misleading. Mr. Markham (in Winsor, *Narr. and Crit. Hist.*, vol. ii. p. 546) makes a strange mistake in the date, and the context shows that it is not a misprint; he says that Manco "met his death in 1553, after a disastrous reign of twenty years." Manco was crowned in 1533, and his death occurred in 1544, and in the eleventh year of his reign.

the viceroy Francisco de Toledo arrived, in 1571, he determined to put a stop to this sort of thing, and events soon furnished him with a pretext. A missionary friar having gone to visit Titu Cusi at his court, the Inca suddenly fell sick and died, whereupon the friar was seized and put to death, for sorcery. Titu Cusi was succeeded by his brother Tupac Amaru, a mere lad. Now the viceroy Toledo sent an army into the mountains, which broke up the Inca's court, slew many chieftains, and captured the Inca Tupac Amaru. The unfortunate youth was taken to Cuzco, and beheaded in revenge for the friar's death, and this was the end of the Inca dynasty.

CHAPTER XI.

LAS CASAS.

It is curious to reflect that with the first arrival of civilized Europeans in this New World there should have come that plague of slavery The plague of slavery. which was so long to pollute and curse it, and from the complicated effects of which we shall not for long years yet succeed in fully recovering. Nor is it less curious to reflect how the fates of the continents America and Africa, with their red men and black men, became linked together, from the early time when Prince Henry of Portugal was making those exploring expeditions that prepared the way for the great discovery of Columbus. It was those expeditions upon the African coast that introduced slavery into the world in what we may distinguish as its modern form. For in the history of slavery there have been two quite distinct periods. The ancient slave was the prisoner captured in war, the αἰχμάλωτος, in the picturesque phrase of the Greeks, which has been somewhat freely rendered as "fruit of the spear." We have observed that in the lower stage of barbarism captives Ancient slavery. are tortured to death; in the middle stage they are sacrificed to the gods, but as agriculture develops and society becomes settled they

are more and more used as slaves; and in the upper stage of barbarism a complete system of slave-labour is developed. Doubtless this course of things was attended with some advantages in its day. Ancient slavery was a help in the coalescence of tribes into nations, and to enslave the captive was not quite so cruel as to roast him alive or cut him to pieces. With the advance of civilization ancient slavery slowly grew milder in type. The slaves of a Greek or a Roman were white men like himself, so that the element of race antipathy was absent. By slow degrees European slaves acquired customary rights and privileges and often became freemen.¹ In general, after

¹ For a brief characterization of Roman slavery see Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, chap. ii., with Guizot's and Milman's notes. The cruelties inflicted upon slaves in the days of the Roman republic were frightful, but in the general and remarkable improvement of Roman law in point of humanity under the emperors, the condition of the slaves was notably ameliorated. One among countless testimonies to the mildness of slavery in the fifth century of the Christian era is furnished by an interesting conversation which took place in the year 448 between the Roman historian Priscus and a certain versatile Greek who had become enamoured of wild life and was engaged in the service of the terrible Attila. Priscus says the Romans treat their slaves much more kindly than the Hunnish king treats the free warriors that follow his banner and divide the spoils of war. They deal with them as friends or brothers, teach them the Scriptures, nurse them tenderly in sickness, and are not allowed to inflict upon them cruel punishment; moreover, it is a common and highly esteemed practice to give them freedom either by last will and testament, or by deed during the master's lifetime. See Bury's *Later Roman Empire*, vol. i. p. 219. On the general subject, see Wallon, *Histoire de l'esclavage dans l'antiquité*, Paris, 1847, 3 vols.; Denis, *Histoire des théories et des idées morales dans l'antiquité*, Paris, 1856, tom. ii. pp. 55-218; Friedländer, *Mœurs romaines du règne d'Auguste à la fin des Antonins*, Paris,

making all due allowances, the face of the Christian Church was resolutely set against slavery, so that later wars and conquests created only such modified forms of it as serfdom and villenage. By the fifteenth century ancient slavery was dead in England, and moribund on the continent of Europe, when all at once and most unexpectedly modern slavery came into existence. In this modern system slavery

Modern slavery.

became an extensive branch of commerce. Men of weaker race, despised as heathen with red or black skins, were hunted and caught by thousands, and sold in places where there was a demand for cheap labour. There were features in this modern system as hideous as the worst features of the ancient system. And curiously enough, just as the progress of discovery in Africa had originated this wholesale traffic in men, the discovery of America opened up an immense field where there was soon to be a great and growing demand for cheap labour.

In 1441 Prince Henry's master of the robes, Antonio Gonçalves, in a voyage along the Morocco coast, captured a few Moors and carried them to Portugal.¹ The next year these Moors

Its beginnings.

begged Gonçalves to take them back to Morocco, and offered him a ransom in the shape of negro slaves. On hearing of this, Prince Henry told Gonçalves by all means to exchange the Moors for negroes, because the former were obstinate

1865, tom. i. pp. 288-292; Ozanam, *History of Civilization in the Fifth Century*, London, 1868, vol. ii. pp. 36-43.

¹ See above, vol. i. p. 323.

infidels who would not give up their Mahometan faith, whereas the black men, being simply heathen, might more easily be persuaded to espouse Christianity.¹ Gonçalves accordingly sailed, set free his Moors, and returned to Portugal with a small cargo of negro slaves. This transaction, in the year 1442, seems to have been the beginning of slavery in its especially modern form. After this many ship-loads of negroes were brought to Lisbon, and Prince Henry, in receiving his royal fifth of the proceeds of these expeditions, was known to take slaves along with buffalo hides and gold dust.

A graphic description of the arrival of a company of these poor creatures, brought by Lançarote in the year 1444, is given by an eye-witness, the kind-hearted Portuguese chronicler Azurara. "The other day," he says, "which was the eighth of August, very early in the morning by reason of the heat, the mariners began to bring to their vessels, and . . . to draw forth those captives . . . : whom, placed together on that plain, it was a marvellous sight to behold, for amongst them there were some of a reasonable degree of whiteness, handsome and well made; others less white, resembling leopards in their colour; others as black as Ethiopians, and so ill-formed, as well in their faces as in their bodies, that it seemed to the beholders as if they saw the forms of a lower world. But what heart was that, how hard soever, which was not pierced with sorrow,

Azurara's narrative.

¹ To doubt the sincerity of such an argument is to misunderstand Prince Henry and the age in which he lived.

seeing that company: for some had sunken cheeks, and their faces bathed in tears, looking at each other; others were groaning very dolorously, looking at the heights of the heavens . . . and crying out loudly, as if asking succour from the Father of nature; others struck their faces with their hands, throwing themselves on the earth; others made their lamentations in songs, according to the customs of their country, which, although we could not understand their language, we saw corresponded well to the height of their sorrow. But now . . . came those who had the charge of the distribution, and they began to put them apart one from the other, in order to equalize the portions; wherefore it was necessary to part children and parents, husbands and wives, and brethren from each other. Neither in the partition of friends and relations was any law kept, only each fell where the lot took him. . . . And while they were placing in one part the children that saw their parents in another, the children sprang up perseveringly and fled unto them; the mothers enclosed their children in their arms and threw themselves with them upon the ground, receiving wounds with little pity for their own flesh, so that their offspring might not be torn from them! And so, with labour and difficulty, they concluded the partition, for, besides the trouble they had with the captives, the plain was full of people, as well of the town as of the villages and neighbourhood around, who on that day gave rest to their hands the mainstay of their livelihood, only to see this novelty.”¹

¹ I quote from the version given by Sir Arthur Helps, in his

There we have the infernal picture, very much as it was to be seen four hundred years later in our own country, as so many of us can still remember. But for the discovery of America this traffic in human beings would doubtless have been greatly limited in extent and duration. The conditions of European agriculture and mining were not such as to create a market for them. Natural economic laws would have prevented slavery from thriving in Europe, as they prevented it in New England. But in the subtropical regions of the New World slavery grew up quickly and sturdily, as foul weeds sprout in a congenial soil. At first it was a slavery of red men, and Columbus himself played an important part in establishing it. When Columbus came to Hispaniola on his second voyage, with 17 ships and 1,500 followers, he found

Beginnings of
Indian slavery
under Colum-
bus.

the relations between red men and white men already hostile, and in order to get food for so many Spaniards, foraging expeditions were undertaken, which made

Spanish Conquest, vol. i. pp. 37-39, since it would be impossible to improve upon it. The original text is in Azurara, *Chronica do descobrimento e conquista de Guiné*, Paris, 1841, pp. 132-134. This chronicle was completed in 1453. Azurara goes on to give another side to the picture, for being much interested in the poor creatures he made careful inquiries and found that in general they were treated with marked kindness. They became Christians, and were taught trades or engaged in domestic service; they were also allowed to acquire property and were often set free. This, however, was in the early days of modern slavery and in the period of Prince Henry and his ideas. At a later date, when Portuguese cruisers caught negroes by the hundred and sold them at Seville, whence they were shipped to Hispaniola to work in the mines, there was very little to relieve the blackness of the transaction.

matters worse. This state of things led Columbus to devise a notable expedient. In some of the neighbouring islands lived the voracious Caribs. In fleets of canoes they would swoop upon the coasts of Hispaniola, capture men and women by the score, and carry them off to be cooked and eaten. Now Columbus wished to win the friendship of the Indians about him by defending them against these enemies, and so he made raids against the Caribs, took some of them captive, and sent them as slaves to Spain, to be taught Spanish and converted to Christianity, so that they might come back to the islands as interpreters, and thus be useful aids in missionary work. It was really, said Columbus, a kindness to these cannibals to enslave them and send them where they could be baptized and rescued from everlasting perdition; and then again they could be received in payment for the cargoes of cattle, seeds, wine, and other provisions which must be sent from Spain for the support of the colony. Thus quaintly did the great discoverer, like so many other good men before and since, mingle considerations of religion with those of domestic economy. It is apt to prove an unwholesome mixture. Columbus proposed such an arrangement to Ferdinand and Isabella, and it is to their credit that, straitened as they were for money, they for some time refused to accept it.

Slavery, however, sprang up in Hispaniola before any one could have fully realized the meaning of what was going on. As the Indians were unfriendly and food must be had, while foraging

expeditions were apt to end in plunder and bloodshed, Columbus tried to regulate matters by prohibiting such expeditions and in lieu thereof im-

posing a light tribute or tax upon the
 entire population of Hispaniola above
 fourteen years of age. As this population was
 dense, a little from each person meant a good
 deal in the lump. The tribute might be a small
 piece of gold or of cotton, and was to be paid four
 times a year. Every time that an Indian paid
 this tax, a small brass token duly stamped was to
 be given him to hang about his neck as a voucher.
 If there were Indians who felt unable to pay the
 tribute, they might as an alternative render a
 certain amount of personal service in helping to
 plant seeds or tend cattle for the Spaniards.

No doubt these regulations were well meant, and
 if the two races had been more evenly matched,
 perhaps they might not so speedily have developed
 into tyranny. As it was, they were like rules for
 regulating the depredations of wolves upon sheep.
 Two years had not elapsed before the alternative
 of personal service was demanded from whole vil-
 lages of Indians at once. By 1499 the island had

begun to be divided into *repartimientos*,
 or shares. One or more villages would
 be ordered, under the direction of their native
 chiefs, to till the soil for the benefit of some speci-
 fied Spaniard or partnership of Spaniards; and
 such a village or villages constituted the *reparti-*
miento of the person or persons to whom it was
 assigned. This arrangement put the Indians into
 a state somewhat resembling that of feudal villen-

age; and this was as far as things had gone when the administration of Columbus came abruptly to an end.

It will be remembered that in 1502 the Spanish sovereigns sent to Hispaniola a governor selected with especial care, a knight of the religious order of Alcántara, named Nicola's de Ovando. He was a small, fair-

Ovando's
treatment of
white men.

haired man of mild and courteous manners, and had an excellent reputation for ability and integrity. We are assured on the most unimpeachable authority that he was a good governor for white men. As to what was most needed in that turbulent colony, he was a strict disciplinarian, and had his own summary way of dealing with insubordinate characters. When he wished to dispose of some such incipient Roldan he would choose a time to invite him to dinner, and then, after some polite and interested talk, whereby the guest was apt to feel highly flattered, Ovando would all at once point down to the harbour and blandly inquire, "In which of those ships, now ready to weigh anchor, would you like to go back to Spain?" Then the dumbfounded man would stammer, "My Lord, my Lord," and would perhaps plead that he had not money enough to pay his passage. "Pray do not let that trouble you," said this well-bred little governor, "it shall be my care to provide for that." And so without further ceremony the guest was escorted straight from dinner-table to ship.¹

But this mild-spoken Ovando was capable of

¹ Las Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, tom. iii. p. 204.

strange deeds, and the seven years of his administration in Hispaniola were so full of horror that I never can read his name without a shudder. His methods with Indians may be illustrated by his treatment of Anacaona, wife of that chieftain Canabó who had been sent to Spain.¹ Ovando heard that the tribe, in which this woman exercised great authority, was meditating another attack upon the Spaniards, and he believed that an ounce of prevention was worth a pound of cure. His seat of government was at the town of San Domingo, and Anacaona's territory at Xaragua was 200 miles distant. Ovando started at once with 300 foot soldiers and 70 horse. On reaching Xaragua he was received in a friendly manner by the Indians, who probably had no wish to offend so strong a force. Games were played, and Ovando proposed to show the Indians a tournament, at which they were much pleased, as their intense fear of the horse was beginning to wear off. All the chieftains of the neighbourhood were invited to assemble in a large wooden house, while Ovando explained to them the nature of the tournament that was about to take place. Meanwhile the Spanish soldiers surrounded the house. Ovando wore upon his breast the badge of his order, a small image of God the Father,² and as he stood talking with the chiefs, when he knew the preparations to be complete, he raised his hand and touched the image. At this concerted signal

Ovando's
treatment of
red men.

¹ See above, vol. i. p. 482.

² "Un Dios Padre en abito blanco." Marquez, *Tesoro militar de Cavalleria*, p. 24, apud Helps, vol. i. p. 207.

the soldiers rushed in and seized the chiefs, and bound them hand and foot. Then they went out and set fire to the house, and the chiefs were all burnt alive. Anacaona was hanged to a tree, several hundred Indians were put to the sword, and their country was laid waste. Ovando then founded a town in Xaragua, and called it the City of Peace, and gave it a seal on which was a dove with an olive-branch.¹

But this was nothing to what happened in Ovando's time. There were such atrocities as would seem incredible were they not recounted by a most intelligent and faithful witness who saw with his own eyes many of the things of which he tells us. Bartolomé de Las Casas was born in Seville in 1474.² His family, one of the noblest

¹ An account of the affair is given in Herrera, dec. i. lib. vi. cap. iv., and with a pictorial illustration in Las Casas, *Indiarum devastationis et excidii narratio*, Heidelberg, 1664, p. 11. Herrera observes that the queen did not approve of Ovando's proceedings, and expressed an intention of investigating the affair, but the investigation was never made. Very likely Ovando's patron Fonseca, who cynically avowed that he cared not how many Indians perished, may have contrived to prevent it.

² The life of Las Casas is beautifully and faithfully told by Sir Arthur Helps, in his *History of the Spanish Conquest in America*, London, 1855-61, in 4 vols., a book which it does one's soul good to read. The most recent and elaborate biography is by Don Antonio Fabié, *Vida y escritos de Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas*, Madrid, 1879, in 2 vols. See also Llorente, *Vie de Las Casas*, prefixed to his *Œuvres de Las Casas*, Paris, 1822, tom. i. pp. ix.-cx.; Remesal, *Historia de Chyapa y de Guatemala*, Madrid, 1619. References may also be found in Oviedo, Gomara, Herrera, Torquemada, and other historians. One should above all read the works of Las Casas himself, concerning which much information may be obtained from Sabin's *List of the Printed Editions of the Works of Fray Bartholomé de Las Casas, Bishop of Chiapa*, New

in Spain, was of French origin, descended from the viscounts of Limoges.¹ They were already in Spain before the thirteenth century, and played a distinguished part in the conquest of Seville from the Moors by Ferdinand III. of Castile, in 1252. From that time forward, members of the family were to be found in positions of trust, and among their marked traits of character were invincible courage and spotless integrity. By birth and training Bartholomew was an aristocrat to the very tips of his fingers. For the earlier part of his life dates can hardly be assigned, but the news of the triumphant return of Columbus from his first voyage across the Sea of Darkness may probably have found him at the university of Salamanca, where for several years he studied philosophy, theology, and jurisprudence, and obtained a licentiate's degree. His father, Don Francisco de Las Casas, accompanied Columbus on the second voyage, and re-

Birth and
family of Las
Casas.

York, 1870. The book contains also a notice of the MSS. — The *Life of Las Casas*, by Sir Arthur Helps, London, 1868, consists of passages extracted from his larger work, and suffers seriously from the removal of the context.

¹ Argote, *Nobleza de Andalucia*, fol. 210. According to Llorente (*Vie de Las Casas*, p. xcvi.) a branch of the Seville family returned to France. Don Carlos de Las Casas was one of the grandees who accompanied Blanche of Castile when she went to France in the year 1200, to marry the prince, afterward Louis VIII. From this nobleman was descended Napoleon's faithful chamberlain the Marquis de Las Cases. The migration of the French family to Spain probably antedated the custom of giving surnames, which was growing up in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The name Las Casas was of course acquired in Spain, and afterward the branch of the family which had returned to France changed the spelling to Las Cases.

turned to Seville in 1497 with a young Indian slave whom Columbus had given him. It was on this occasion that Isabella asked, with some indignation, "Who has empowered my admiral thus to dispose of my subjects?" The elder Las Casas gave the Indian to his son, who soon became warmly interested in him and in his race; and as the father retained an estate in Hispaniola, the son came out with Ovando in 1502 and settled in that island.¹ He was then twenty-eight years old. Little is known of his first occupations there, except that he seems to have been more or less concerned in money-making, like all the other settlers. But about 1510 he was ordained as a priest. He seems to have been the first Christian clergyman ordained in the New World. He was a person of such immense ability and strength of character that in whatever age of the world he had lived he would undoubtedly have been one of its foremost men. As a man of business he had rare executive power; he was a great diplomatist and an eloquent preacher, a man of Titanic energy, ardent but self-controlled, of unconquerable tenacity, warm-hearted and tender, calm in his judgments, shrewdly humorous, absolutely fearless, and absolutely true. He made many and bitter enemies, and some of them were unscrupulous enough; but I believe no one has ever accused him of any worse sin than extreme fervour of

His character
and writings.

¹ According to Llorente, the elder Las Casas accompanied Columbus on his first voyage in 1492, and Bartholomew was with him on his third voyage in 1498, but this has been disproved. See Humboldt, *Examen critique*, tom. iii. p. 286.

temperament. His wrath could rise to a white heat, and indeed there was occasion enough for it. He was also very apt to call a spade a spade and to proclaim unpleasant truths with pungent emphasis. But his justice is conspicuously displayed in his voluminous writings. He was one of the best historians of his time, and wrote a most attractive Spanish style, quaint, pithy, and nervous, — a style which goes straight to the mark and rings like true metal.¹ It is impossible to doubt the accuracy of his statements about the matters of fact which were within the range of his personal knowledge. His larger statistics, as to the numbers of the Indian populations exterminated, have been doubted with good reason ; statistics are a complicated af-

¹ I do not mean to be understood as calling it a *literary* style. It is not graceful like that of great masters of expression such as Pascal or Voltaire. It is not seldom cumbrous and awkward, usually through trying to say too much at once. But in spite of this it is far more attractive than many a truly artistic literary style. There is a great charm in reading what comes from a man brimful of knowledge and utterly unselfish and honest. The crisp shrewdness, the gleams of gentle humour and occasional sharp flashes of wit, and the fervid earnestness in the books of Las Casas, combine to make them very delightful. It was the unfailing sense of humour, which is so often wanting in reformers, that kept Las Casas from developing into a fanatic. The judicious words of Humboldt in another connection will apply very well to the style of Las Casas : — in speaking of it, “il ne s’agit pas de discuter ce qu’on appelle vaguement le mérite littéraire d’un écrivain. Il s’agit de quelque chose de plus grave et de plus historique. Nous avons considéré le style comme expression du caractère, comme reflet de l’intérieur de l’homme. . . . C’est chez les hommes plus disposés à agir qu’ à soigner leur diction, chez ceux qui demeurent étrangers à tout artifice propre à produire des émotions par le charme du langage, que la liaison si long-temps signalée entre le caractère et le style se fait sentir de préférence.” *Examen critique*, tom. iii. p. 240.

fair, in which it is easy to let feelings make havoc with figures.¹ But with regard to particular statements of fact one cannot help believing Las Casas, because his perfect sincerity is allied with a judgment so sane and a charity so broad as to constrain our assent. He is almost always ready to make allowances, and very rarely lets his hatred of sin blind him to any redeeming qualities there may be in the sinner. It was he that said, in his crisp way, of Ovando, that he was a good governor, but not for Indians. What Las Casas witnessed under the administration of Ovando and other governors, he published in 1552, in his "Brief Relation of the Destruction of the Indies," a book of which there are copies in several languages, all more or less rare now.² It is one of the most grewsome books ever printed.

We have seen how by the year 1499 communities of Indians were assigned in *repartimiento* to sundry Spaniards, and were thus reduced to a kind of villenage. Queen Isabella had disapproved of this, but she was persuaded to sanction it, and presently in 1503 she and Ferdi-
The royal orders of 1503.
nand issued a most disastrous order. They gave discretionary power to Ovando to compel Indians to work, but it must be for wages. They ordered

¹ The arithmetic of Las Casas is, however, no worse than that of all the Spanish historians of that age. With every one of them the nine digits seem to have gone on a glorious spree.

² I have never seen any of the English versions. Sabin mentions four, published in London in 1583, 1656, 1687, and 1699. *List of the Printed Editions*, etc., pp. 22-24. The edition which I use is the Latin one published at Heidelberg, 1664, small quarto.

him, moreover, to see that Indians were duly instructed in the Christian faith, provided that they must come to mass "as free persons, for so they are." It was further allowed that the cannibal Caribs, if taken in actual warfare, might be sold into slavery. Little did the sovereigns know what a legion of devils they were letting loose. Of course the doings in Hispaniola always went the full length of the authority granted from Spain, and generally went far beyond. Of course the Indians were compelled to work, and it was not for wages; and of course, so long as there was no legal machinery for protecting the natives, any Indian might be called a cannibal and sold into slavery. The way in which Ovando carried out the order about missionary work was characteristic. As a member of a religious order of knights, he was familiar with the practice of *encomienda*, by which groups of novices were assigned to certain preceptors to be disciplined and instructed in the mysteries of the order. *Encomiendas.* The word *encomienda* means "commandery" or "preceptory," and so it came to be a nice euphemism for a hateful thing. Ovando distributed Indians among the Spaniards in lots of 50 or 100 or 500, with a deed worded thus: "To you, such a one, is given an *encomienda* of so many Indians, and you are to teach them the things of our holy Catholic Faith." In practice the last clause was disregarded as a mere formality, and the effect of the deed was simply to consign a parcel of Indians to the tender mercies of some Spaniard to do as he pleased with them. If the system of

repartimientos was in effect serfdom or villenage, the system of *encomiendas* was unmitigated slavery.

Such a cruel and destructive slavery has seldom, if ever, been known. The work of the Indians was at first largely agricultural, but as many mines of gold were soon discovered they were driven in gangs to work in the mines. There was a rush of Spaniards to Hispaniola, like the rush of all sorts and conditions of white men in recent times to California and Australia, and we know well what kind of a population is gathered together under such circumstances. For a graphic description of it we may go to Charles Reade's "Never too Late to Mend." And here we must take care not to identify too indiscriminately the Spaniards, as such, with the horrors perpetrated in Hispaniola. It was not in the character of Spaniards so much as in the character of ruffians that the perpetrators behaved, and there have been ruffians enough among people who speak English. If the worst of these slave-drivers was a Spaniard, so too was Las Casas. Many of the wretches were the offscourings of camps, the vile refuse of European wars; some of them were criminals, sent out here to disencumber Spanish jails. Of course they had no notion of working with their own hands, or of wielding any implement of industry except the lash. With such an abundant supply of cheap labour an Indian's life was counted of no value. It was cheaper to work an Indian to death and get another than to take care of him, and accordingly the slaves

Effects of the
discovery of
gold.

were worked to death without mercy. From time to time the Indians rose in rebellion, but these attempts were savagely suppressed, and a policy of terror was adopted. Indians were slaughtered by the hundred, burned alive, impaled on sharp stakes, torn to pieces by blood-hounds. In retaliation for the murder of a Spaniard it was thought proper to call up fifty or sixty Indians and chop off their hands. Little children were flung into the water to drown, with less concern than if they had been puppies. In the mingling of sacred ideas with the sheerest devilry there was a grotesqueness fit for the pencil of Doré. Once, "in honour and reverence of Christ and his twelve Apostles," they hanged thirteen Indians in a row at such a height that their toes could just touch the ground, and then pricked them to death with their sword-points, taking care not to kill them quickly. At another time, when some old reprobate was broiling half-a-dozen Indians in a kind of cradle suspended over a slow fire, their shrieks awoke the Spanish captain who in a neighbouring hut was taking his afternoon nap, and he called out testily to the man to despatch those wretches at once, and stop their noise. But this demon, determined not to be baulked of his enjoyment, only gagged the poor creatures. Can it be, says Las Casas, that I really saw such things, or are they hideous dreams? Alas, they are no dreams; "all this did I behold with my bodily mortal eyes."¹

Hideous cruelties.

This tyranny went on until the effect was like

¹ "Todo esto yo lo vide con mis ojos corporales mortales." *Hist. de las Indias*, tom. iii. p. 96.

that of a pestilence. The native population rapidly diminished until labour grew scarce, and it was found necessary in Hispaniola to send and kidnap Indians from other islands, and to import from Seville negroes that had been caught by the Portuguese in Africa. The first slave-hunters that went to the Lucayan islands beguiled the simple natives with pretty stories and promises, and thus enticed them on board their ships. Some thousands of Lucayans were taken to Hispaniola, and there is a touching story of one of these poor fellows, who cut down and hollowed out a pithy tree, and lashed to it smaller stems till he had made a good staunch raft. He stuffed it with corn and calabashes of fresh water, and then with two friends, a man and a woman, he put to sea one dark night, and they paddled toward the north star.¹ After many anxious days and nights they had gone more than 200 miles and were coming near to their own land, when all at once their hearts were sickened at the sight of a Spanish cruiser in the offing, and presently they were stowed beneath its deck and carried back in black despair to the land of bondage. No less pathetic is the story of the cacique Hatuey in Cuba, who had heard that the Spaniards were coming over from Hispaniola and hit upon an ingenious expedient for protecting his people. Taking a big lump of gold he called his

¹ Herrera, *Historia de las Indias*, Madrid, 1601, tom. i. p. 228. As Sir Arthur Helps observes, "there is somewhat of immortality in a stout-hearted action, and though long past it seems still young and full of life: one feels quite anxious now, as if those Indians were yet upon that sea, to know what becomes of them." *Spanish Conquest*, vol. i. p. 226.

clan-chiefs together, and said : — Behold, this is the god of the white men ; wherefore let us dance to it and reverence it, that if peradventure they come hither, it may tell them to do us no harm ; and so these simple barbarians adored the piece of yellow metal and danced around it, and sought to win its favour.¹

In 1509 Ovando was recalled; and went home, a poor man, leaving as his last act the larger part of his property to found a hospital for needy Spaniards. Under his successor, Diego Columbus, there was little improvement. The case had become a hard one to deal with. There were now what are called “vested rights,” the rights of property in slaves, to be respected. But in 1510

Antonio
Montesino. there came a dozen Dominican monks, and they soon decided, in defiance of vested rights, to denounce the wickedness they saw about them. So one Sunday in the year 1511 Father Antonio Montesino preached a great sermon in the church at San Domingo, from the text, “I am the voice of one crying in the wilderness.” His words, says the chronicler, were “very piercing and terrible.” He told his dismayed hearers that they were living in mortal sin, and their greed and cruelty

¹ Herrera, *op. cit.* tom. i. p. 293. This propitiation of the white man’s yellow god did not avail to save the unfortunate cacique. Soon after their arrival in Cuba the Spaniards caught him, and he was burned alive at the stake. As he was writhing amid the flames, a priest held up a cross before him and begged him to “become a Christian ” so that he might go to heaven. The half-roasted Indian replied that if there were Christians in heaven he had no desire to go to any such place. See Las Casas, *Indiarum devastationis et excidii narratio*, p. 16.

were such that for any chance they had of going to heaven they might as well be Moors or Turks!

Startling words, indeed, to Spanish ears, — to be told that they were no better than Mahometans! The town was in an uproar, and after the noon dinner a deputation of the principal citizens went to the shed which served temporarily as a monastery, and angrily demanded an apology from Father Antonio. The prior's quiet reply was that Father Antonio's sentiments were those of the Dominican community and would on no account be retracted. The infuriated citizens then said that unless a different tone was taken in the pulpit next Sunday the monks had better pack up their goods for a sea voyage. That would be easily done, quoth the prior, and verily, says Las Casas, with his sly humour, it was so, for all they had on earth would have gone into two small trunks.¹

Next Sunday the church was thronged with Spaniards from far and near, for the excitement was fierce. Mass was performed, and then, amid breathless silence, Father Antonio stepped into the pulpit and preached a still more terrible sermon; threatened his hearers with eternal torments, and declared that the monks would refuse confession to any man who should maltreat his Indians or engage in the slave-trade. Glorious Antonio Montesino! first of preachers on American soil to declare war to the knife against this gravest of American sins!

Loyalty to the church was too strong among

¹ These events are related with full details by Las Casas, *Hist. de las Indias*, tom. iii. pp. 365–380.

Spaniards for any violence to be offered to these monks, but the citizens made complaint to King Ferdinand. His wife Isabella, dying six years before these events, had left to him in her will one

The king's
position.

half of the income to be got from the Indies during his lifetime. After Isabella's death the crown of Castile had passed to their daughter Joanna, and Ferdinand for a while, restricted to his own kingdom of Aragon, had little to do with American affairs. But after a couple of years, Joanna having become insane, Ferdinand had become regent of Castile, and was thus lord over America, and as half the American revenue, which was chiefly gold from the mines, was to come to him, the colonists in Hispaniola looked to him to defend their vested interests. The citizens of San Domingo got hold of an unworthy member of the Franciscan order, and sent him to Spain to complain against the Dominicans; and Antonio Montesino went over himself to forestall the Franciscan monk. Antonio saw the king and made a deep impression upon him, so that a conclave of learned priests was assembled, and various plans of relief and reform were discussed. Nothing was really accomplished, except that some seeds of reform were sown, to bear fruit at a later season.

Meanwhile the good Montesino had gained an ally upon the scene of action worth a dozen kings. Las Casas was by natural endowment a many-sided man, who looked at human affairs from various points of view. Under other circumstances he need not necessarily have developed into a phi-

lanthropist, though any career into which he might have been drawn could not have failed to be honourable and noble. At first he seems to have been what one might call worldly-minded.

But the most interesting thing about him we shall find to be his steady intellectual and spiritual development; from year to year he rose to higher and higher planes of thought and feeling. He was at first a slave-owner like the rest, and had seen no harm in it. But from the first his kindly sympathetic nature asserted itself, and his treatment of his slaves was such that they loved him. He was a man of striking and easily distinguishable aspect, and the Indians in general, who fled from the sight of white men, came soon to recognize him as a friend who could always be trusted. At the same time, however, as a good man of business he was disposed to make money, and, as he tells us, "he took no more heed than the other Spaniards to bethink himself that his Indians were unbelievers, and of the duty that there was on his part to give them instruction, and to bring them to the bosom of the Church of Christ." He sympathized with much that was said by Montesino, but thought at first that in his unqualified condemnation of the whole system of slavery that great preacher was going too far. We must not be wanting in charity toward slaveholders. It is hard for a man to extricate himself from the entanglements of ideas and situations prepared for him before he was born. The heart of Las Casas, however, was deeply stirred by Montesino, and he pondered much upon his words.

Las Casas at
first a slave-
owner.

In the same year that those memorable sermons were preached, Diego Columbus made up his mind to conquer and colonize Cuba, and he sent Velasquez for that purpose. Las Casas presently followed. The usual tale of horrors had begun, but he succeeded in doing much to improve the situation. For the time he was the only priest on the island. The tremendous power of the church was personified in him, and he used it unflinchingly in defence of the Indians. When the island was regarded as conquered, Velasquez proceeded to give *encomiendas* of Indians to his friends, and a large village was given as an *encomienda* to two partners, of whom one was Las Casas. It was the duty of Las Casas to say mass and now and then to preach, and in thinking of his sermon for Pentecost, 1514, he opened his Bible, and his eye alighted upon these verses in the 34th chapter of Ecclesiasticus:—

“The Most High is not pleased with the offerings of the wicked: neither is he pacified for sin by the multitude of sacrifices.

“The bread of the needy is their life; he that defraudeth him thereof is a man of blood.

“He that taketh away his neighbour’s living slayeth him; and he that defraudeth the labourer of his hire is a shedder of blood.”

As he read these words a light from heaven seemed to shine upon Las Casas. The scales fell from his eyes. He saw that the system of slavery was wrong in principle. The question whether you treated your slaves harshly or kindly did not go to the root of the matter. As soon as you took

from the labourer his wages the deadly sin was committed, the monstrous evil was inaugurated. There must be a stop put to this, said Las Casas. We have started wrong. Here are vast countries which Holy Church has given to the Spaniards in trust, that the heathen may be civilized and brought into the fold of Christ; and we have begun by making Hispaniola a hell. This thing must not be suffered to grow with the growth of Spanish conquest. There was but one remedy. The axe must be put to the root of the tree. Slavery must be abolished.

Las Casas began by giving up his own slaves. He had reason enough to know that others might not treat them so well as he, but he was not the man to preach what he did not practise. His partner, Pedro de Renteria, was a man of noble nature and much under his influence, so that there was no difficulty there. Then Las Casas went into the pulpit and preached to his congregation that their souls were in dan- His first proceedings. ger so long as they continued to hold their *encomiendas* of Indians. "All were amazed," he says; "some were struck with compunction; others were as much surprised to hear it called a sin to make use of the Indians, as if they had been told it were sinful to make use of the beasts of the field."

Too many were of this latter mood, and finding his people incorrigible, Las Casas sold what worldly goods he had left, and went to Spain to lay the case before King Ferdinand. First he visited Bishop Fonseca, as the most important member of

the Council for the Indies. From this coarse man, with his cynical contempt for philanthro-
His reception
by Fonseca; pists, Las Casas got such a reception
 as might have been expected. It will be remem-
 bered that Ovando was one of Fonseca's creatures.
 When Las Casas told how 7,000 children had
 cruelly perished in Hispaniola within three months,
 he doubtless overstated the case, and clearly Fon-
 seca did not believe him. He answered roughly,
 "Look here, you droll fool, what is all this to me,
 and what is it to the king?" This fairly took our
 poor priest's breath away. He only exclaimed,
 "O great and eternal God! to whom, then, is it
 of any concern?" and so he turned upon his heel
 and left the room.

On arriving at Seville, he learned that the king
 had just died, January 23, 1516. Ferdinand's
 daughter Joanna, queen of Castile and heiress to
 the throne of Aragon, was still insane, and both
 thrones descended practically to her illustrious
 son Charles, a boy of sixteen, who was then in
 Flanders. For the present the great cardinal
 Ximenes was regent of Spain, and to him went
 Las Casas with his tale of woe. From the cardi-
and by Cardi-
nal Ximenes. nal he obtained ready and cordial sym-
 pathy. It was a fortunate circumstance
 that at this juncture brought two such men to-
 gether. Las Casas knew well that the enslave-
 ment of Indians was not contemplated in the royal
 orders of 1503, except so far as concerned canni-
 bals taken in war; but the evil had become so
 firmly established that at first he hesitated about
 the policy of using this line of argument. He

prudently shaped his question in this wise : " With what justice can such things be done, whether the Indians are free or not ? " Here, to his joy, the cardinal caught him up vehemently. " With no justice whatever : what, are not the Indians free ? who doubts about their being free ? " This was a great point gained at the start, for it put the official theory of the Spanish government on the side of Las Casas, and made the Spaniards in America appear in the light of transgressors. The matter was thoroughly discussed with Ximenes and that amiable Dutchman, Cardinal First attempts at reform.

Adrian, who was afterwards pope. A commission of Hieronymite friars was appointed to accompany Las Casas to the West Indies, with minute instructions and ample powers for making investigations and enforcing the laws. Ximenes appointed Las Casas Protector of the Indians, and clothed him with authority to impeach delinquent judges or other public officials. The new regulations, could they have been carried out, would have done much to mitigate the sufferings of the Indians. They must be paid wages, they must be humanely treated and taught the Christian religion. But as the Spanish government needed revenue, the provision that Indians might be compelled to work in the mines was not repealed. The Indians must work, and the Spaniards must pay them. Las Casas argued correctly that so long as this provision was retained the work of reform would go but little way. Somebody, however, must work the mines ; and so the talk turned to the question of sending out white labourers or negroes.

Here we come to the statement, often repeated, that it was Las Casas who first introduced negro slavery and the African slave-trade into the New World. The statement is a good specimen of the headlong, helter-skelter way in which things get said and believed in this superficial world. As first repeated, there was probably an agreeable tinge of paradox in representing the greatest of philanthropists as the founder of one of the vilest systems of bondage known to modern times. At length it has come to pass that people who know nothing about Las Casas, and have absolutely no other idea associated with his name, still vaguely think of him as the man who brought negro slaves to America as substitutes for Indians, — the man who sacrificed one race of his fellow-creatures to another, and thus paid Peter by robbing Paul.

The popular
notion about
Las Casas and
negro slavery.

There could not be a grosser historical blunder than this notion, and yet, like most such blunders, it has arisen from a perversion of things that really were said if not done. In order to arrive at historical truth, it is not enough to obtain correct items of fact; it is necessary to group the items in their causal relations and to estimate the precise weight that must be accorded to each in the total result. To do this is often so difficult that half-truths are very commonly offered us in place of whole truths; and it sometimes happens that of all forms of falsehood none is so misleading as the half-truth.

The statement about Las Casas, with which we are here concerned, properly divides itself into a

pair of statements. It is alleged, in the first place, that it was Las Casas who first suggested the employment of negroes as substitutes for Indians; and in the second place, that the origin, or at any rate the steady development, of negro slavery in America was due to this suggestion. These are two different propositions and call for different comments.

With regard to the first, it is undoubtedly true that Las Casas at one time expressed the opinion that if there must be slave labour, the enslavement of blacks might perhaps be tolerated as the smaller of two evils, inasmuch as the negroes were regarded as a hardier race What Las Casas said. than the Indians and better able to support continuous labour. At one time the leading colonists of Hispaniola had told Las Casas that if they might have license to import each a dozen negroes, they would coöperate with him in his plans for setting free the Indians and improving their condition. When Las Casas at the Spanish court was confronted with the argument that there must be somebody to work the mines, he recalled this suggestion of the colonists, and proposed it as perhaps the least odious way out of the difficulty. It is therefore evident that at that period in his life he did not realize the wickedness of slavery so distinctly in the case of black men as in the case of red men. In other words, he had not yet outgrown that mediæval habit of mind which regarded the right to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," and other rights, not as common to all mankind, but as parcelled out among groups

and classes of men in a complicated way that to our minds, on the eve of the twentieth century, has become wellnigh unintelligible. It was the great French writers of the eighteenth century who first gave distinct expression to the notion of "unalienable rights," with which mankind has been endowed by the Creator. This notion has become so familiar to our minds that we sometimes see the generalizations of Rousseau and Diderot, or whatever remains sound in them, derided as mere platitudes, as if it had never been necessary to preach such self-evident truths. But these "platitudes" about universal rights were far enough from being self-evident in the sixteenth century. On the contrary, they were extremely unfamiliar and abstruse conceptions, toward which the most enlightened minds could only grope their way by slow degrees.¹ In Las Casas it is interesting to trace such a development. He had gradually risen to the perception of the full wickedness of slavery in the form in which he had become familiar with it; but he had not yet extended his generalizations, as a modern thinker would do, to remote cases, and in order to gain a point, the supreme importance of which he keenly felt, he was ready to make concessions. In later years he blamed himself roundly for making

Mediaeval and modern conceptions of rights.

Gradual development of the modern conception in Las Casas.

¹ As Mr. John Morley observes, "the doctrine of moral obligations toward the lower races had not yet taken its place in Europe." *Diderot and the Encyclopædists*, London, 1880, p. 386. Mr. Morley's remarks on the influence of Raynal's famous book, *Histoire des deux Indes*, in this connection, are admirable.

any such concessions. Had he "sufficiently considered the matter," he would not for all the world have entertained such a suggestion for a moment; for, said he, the negroes "had been made slaves unjustly and tyrannically, and the same reason holds good of them as of the Indians."¹

With regard to the second of the statements we are considering, the question arises how far did this suggestion, for which Las Casas afterward so freely blamed himself, have any material

effect in setting on foot the African slave-trade or in enlarging its dimensions? The reply is that it had no

His momentary suggestion had no traceable effect upon negro slavery.

such effect whatever. As for the beginnings, negroes had been carried to Hispaniola in small numbers as early as 1501; and in the royal instructions drawn up at that time for Ovando, he was forbidden to take to the colony Moors, Jews, new converts from Islam or Judaism, monks not Spanish, and the children of persons burned at the stake for heresy, but he might take negro slaves.² Official documents prove that at various times between 1500 and 1510 negroes were sent over to work in the mines, but not in large numbers.³ As for the extensive development of negro slavery in the West Indies, it did not begin for many years after that period in the career of Las Casas with which we are now dealing, and there is nothing to show that his suggestion or concession was in any way concerned in bringing it about. If, on

¹ Las Casas, *Hist. de las Indias*, tom. iv. p. 380.

² Navarrete, *Coleccion de viages*, tom. ii. doc. 175.

³ Herrera, *Hist. de las Indias*, tom. i. pp. 274-276.

the other hand, instead of confining our attention to this single incident in his life, the importance of which has been egregiously exaggerated, we consider the general effect of his life-work, that effect was clearly adverse to the development of the African slave-trade. For if the depopulation of the New World had continued, which Las Casas did so much to check, it cannot be doubted that

His life-work did much to diminish the volume of negro slavery and the spiritual corruption attendant upon it.

the importation of negroes to Spanish America would have been immeasurably greater than it has been. The African slave-trade would have assumed much larger proportions than it has ever known, and its widely ramifying influence for evil, its poisonous effects upon the character of European society in the New World, whether Spanish or English, would probably have surpassed anything that we can now realize. When the work of Las Casas is deeply considered, we cannot make him anything else but an antagonist of human slavery in all its forms, and the mightiest and most effective antagonist, withal, that has ever lived. Subtract his glorious life from the history of the past, and we might still be waiting, sick with hope deferred, for a Wilberforce, a Garrison, and a Lincoln.

In all the work at the Spanish court the Bishop of Burgos tried by every means in his power to impede and thwart Las Casas, and agents of the colonists gained the ears of the Hieronymite friars, so that matters were very imperfectly mended, and the next year, after a stout fight, Las Casas re-

turned to Spain to find the great cardinal on his death-bed. The loss of this powerful ally was a serious misfortune for Las Casas. He was not long, however, in winning the esteem of ^{Charles V. and Las Casas.} Charles V. The young king greatly

liked him, and his grave face always lighted up with pleasure whenever he happened to meet "Master Bartholomew," as he used to call him. Las Casas now tried to enlist white emigrants for the West Indies, to labour there; but the task of getting Spaniards to work, instead of making slaves work for them, was not an encouraging one. At length, however, he devised a scheme which seemed likely to work. He undertook to select fifty Spaniards for whose characters he could vouch, to subscribe 200 ducats each and go with him to found a colony upon the mainland. That the Indians might distinguish between these men and any other Spaniards they had ever seen, they were to wear a peculiar uniform, white with a coloured cross. If their work should prosper he intended to ask the Pope to recognize them as a religious ^{A noble scheme.} fraternity, like those of the Middle

Ages, which had been of such inestimable value as civilizing agencies. He promised to make it an enterprise which should justify itself by paying its own way and yielding a steady revenue to the crown. If he could not cure the evils in the islands, he could at least set the example of a new colony founded on sound principles, and might hope that it would serve as a centre for the diffusion of a higher civilization in the New World.

In pursuance of this scheme Las Casas obtained

from Charles V. a grant of territory about Cumaná on the Pearl Coast. There were three years of hard work in these preliminaries, hindered at every step by the malignant intrigues of Bishop Fonseca. At length, in 1520, the Protector of the Indians returned to Hispaniola, and in 1521 he was ready for the Pearl Coast. Some Dominicans had already founded a small monastery there, and from them Las Casas could always look for cordial assistance. But Satan had not been asleep while these things were going on. In the neighbouring island of Cubagua, fishing for pearls,

was a young man named Alonso de Ojeda,¹ concerning whom Las Casas says, with truth, "that if he had not been born, the world would have lost nothing." Ojeda wanted slaves, and thought it a bright idea to catch a few on the mainland and pretend they were cannibals. He took a notary with his party in order to catechise some chiefs and have such answers taken down as could be made to convict them of cannibalism.² But having no paper about him he stopped at the Dominican monastery and asked for a sheet, which was given him. Ojeda presently changed his mind, abandoned his cate-

The mischief
that one mis-
erable sinner
can do.

¹ Llorente (*Œuvres de Las Casas*, tom. i. p. 139) confounds him with the Alonso de Ojeda whose career we have already traced down to his death in 1515, five years before the time of the events we are now narrating. Curiously enough, on another page of the same volume (p. xlv.) Llorente warns the reader not to confound the two, but thinks that this younger sinner may perhaps have been the son of the other. I suspect this is a mere guess.

² The reader will observe that some slight progress seems to have been made, since these legal formalities were deemed necessary.

chising project as uncertain and tedious, and adopted some other device. A few miles down the coast he fell in with some Indians, attacked them under circumstances of foulest treachery, slew a great many, and carried off the rest in his vessel. Now the Indians were always deeply impressed with the way in which white people communicated intelligence to one another by means of mysterious bits of paper. Some Indians had seen the innocent monk give the piece of paper to Ojeda, and so, as the news of his evil deeds flew along the coast, they naturally concluded that the Dominicans must be his accomplices. So they not only contrived to kill the worthless Ojeda the next time he touched upon the coast, but they set fire to the monastery and massacred the monks. And so fiercely was their wrath now kindled against all Spaniards that soon after the founding of the colony of Las Casas at Cumaná, on an occasion when — fortunately for him — some business had called him back to Hispaniola, they attacked the little colony in overwhelming numbers, and destroyed it. Those who escaped their javelins were fain to flee to the neighbouring islands and thence to San Domingo. Their incipient village was burned to the ground, and not a white man was left on the Pearl Coast.

Destruction of
the little col-
ony.

Seven years had now elapsed since that memorable Pentecost of 1514, seven years of ceaseless toil and sore perplexity, and now, just as the way was beginning to seem clear toward some tangible result, everything was ruined by the villainy of one scurvy knave. There is reason to suppose that

Las Casas may have somewhat overtaxed his strength. His nerves were strained beyond endurance, and when he heard the news of this terrible blow, he fell, for the first and only time in his life, into a fit of profound despondency. Perhaps, said he, in prophetic language, "the Spaniards are not to be saved from the commission of great wickedness and from decay of their power." Perhaps God had for some inscrutable purpose decreed that the Indians must be destroyed. Perhaps there was in his own soul some lurking sin which made him unworthy to be God's instrument for righting these grievous wrongs.¹ The Dominican monastery at San Domingo was no longer a mere shed. In its pleasant garden would Las Casas sit motionless hour after hour, absorbed in meditation upon these heart-rending mysteries of the Divine Providence. The good monks improved the situation by persuading Las Casas to join their order. He became a Dominican in 1522, and remained there at the monastery for eight years, leading the life of a close student, acquiring a profound knowledge of patristic and mediæval theology, becoming expert in the sinuosities of scholastic logic, and writing history such as the world could ill afford to spare.

During these eight years the Spanish empire in

¹ "The dignity and greatness of his cause were so predominant in the mind of Las Casas as to leave no room for influences merely personal. It does not appear that he ever expected gratitude from the Indians; nor did the terrible disaster which he suffered at Cumaná leave, apparently, the slightest rancour in his mind." Helps, *Spanish Conquest*, vol. iv. p. 334.

America was rapidly expanding. When Las Casas entered the monastery, Cortes had lately captured the great Mexican pueblo and overthrown the Aztec confederacy. Then Pedro de Alvarado conquered Guatemala, while Pedrarias and his captains devastated Nicaragua like a typhoon or a plague. Now in 1530 the Pizarros and Almagro were just starting on their final and decisive expedition for the conquest of Peru. Old Pedrarias had just died at somewhere about his ninetieth year. The horrors of Hispaniola had been repeated in Nicaragua. We may suppose that this had much to do with arousing the Dominicans of Hispaniola to renewed activity. Las Casas tells us very little about himself at this conjuncture. Indeed, his history of the Indies brings us down no farther than 1522. But we learn from Antonio de Remesal — an excellent authority for this part of his career — that he emerged from his seclusion in 1530, went over to Spain, and obtained from Charles V. a decree prohibiting the enslavement of Indians in the countries which Pizarro and Almagro were expected to conquer.¹ On returning to Hispaniola, Las Casas was sent to the new Dominican monastery in Mexico, there to take companions and proceed to Peru, for the purpose of proclaiming the imperial decree and founding a monastery there. For some reason the latter purpose was not carried out. The decree was proclaimed, but it proved impossible to enforce it. For three or four years Las Casas was kept busy in Nicaragua, putting a

Spanish conquests, and resulting movements.

¹ Remesal, *Historia de Chiapa*, Madrid, 1619, p. 103.

curb upon the rapacity and cruelty of the new governor. Meanwhile a friend of his was appointed Bishop of Guatemala, and thither Las Casas repaired early in 1536. A Dominican monastery, founded there somewhat prematurely, had been unoccupied for six or seven years, and Las Casas and three of his companions now took possession of it. There the first thing they did

The little
monastery in
Guatemala.

was to acquire a knowledge of the Quiché language spoken by the natives of Guatemala, a language not without some interesting native literature which modern scholarship has discovered and edited.¹ So zealously did these four monks work that it was not long before they could talk quite fluently in Quiché, and they soon found occasion to put this rare accomplishment to a practical use.

While in the monastery at San Domingo, Las Casas had written his famous Latin treatise *De unico vocationis modo*, or the only proper method of calling men to Christianity. In these years of trial his mind had been growing in clearness and grasp. He had got beyond all sophistical distinctions between men of one colour and faith and men of another,—a wonderful progress for a Spaniard born eight years before the Moor was driven from Granada. He had come to see what was really involved in the Christian assumption of the brotherhood of men ; and accordingly he main-

¹ See Brasseur de Bourbourg, *Bibliothèque Mexico-Guatémali-enne* ; *Popol Vuh, le Livre Sacré des Quichés* ; and for the literature of a neighbouring people in Guatemala, see Brinton's *Annals of the Cakchiquels*, Philadelphia, 1885.

tained that to make war upon infidels or heathen, merely because they are infidels or heathen, is sinful; and that the only right and lawful way of bringing men to Christ is the

The only right way to bring men to Christ.

way of reason and persuasion. To set forth such a doctrine at that time and still keep clear of the Inquisition required consummate skillfulness in statement. This little book was never printed, but manuscript copies of the original Latin and of a Spanish translation were circulated, and called forth much comment. The illustrations drawn from American affairs exasperated the Spanish colonists, and they taunted Las Casas. He was only a vain theorizer, they said; the gospel of peace would be all very well in a world already perfect, but in our world the only practicable gospel is the gospel of kicks and

A challenge.

blows. Go to, let this apostle try himself to convert a tribe of Indians and make them keep the peace; he will soon find that something more is needed than words of love. So said the scoffers, as they wagged their heads.

Las Casas presently took them at their word. The province of Tuzulutlan, just to the north of Guatemala and bordering upon the peninsula of Yucatan, was called by the Spaniards

The Land of War.

the "Land of War." It was an inaccessible country of beetling crags, abysmal gorges, raging torrents, and impenetrable forest. In their grade of culture the inhabitants seem to have resembled the Aztecs. They had idols and human sacrifices, and were desperate fighters. The Spaniards had three times invaded this country, and

three times had been hurled back in a very dilapidated condition. It could hardly be called a promising field, but this it was that Las Casas chose for his experiment.¹



Tuzulutlan, or the "Land of War."

Let us note well his manner of proceeding, for there are those to-day who maintain that the type of character which Victor Hugo has sketched in Monseigneur Bienvenu is not calculated to achieve success in the world. The example of Las Casas, however, tends to confirm us in the opinion that when combined

The highest
type of man-
hood.

¹ A full account of the work of Las Casas in Tuzulutlan is given in Remesal's *Historia de Chiapa*, lib. iii. cap. ix.-xi, xv.-xviii.

with sufficient intelligence, that type of character is the most indomitable and masterful of all. And in this I seem to see good promise for the future of humanity. The wisdom of the serpent, when wedded to the innocence of the dove, is of all things the most winning and irresistible, as Las Casas now proceeded to prove.

Alvarado, the fierce governor of Guatemala, was absent in Spain. Las Casas talked with the temporary governor, Alonzo de Maldonado, and the result of their talk was the following agreement, signed May 2, 1537. It was agreed that ^{Diplomacy of Las Casas.} "if Las Casas, or any of his monks, can bring these Indians into conditions of peace, so that they should recognize the Spanish monarch for their lord paramount, and pay him any moderate tribute, he, the governor, would place those provinces under his majesty in chief, and would not give them to any private Spaniard in *encomienda*. Moreover, no lay Spaniard, under heavy penalties, except the governor himself in person, should be allowed for five years to enter into that territory."¹ Ojedas and other such sinners were now, if possible, to be kept at a distance. No doubt Maldonado smiled in his sleeve when he signed his name to this agreement. Of course it could never come to anything.

Thus guaranteed against interference, the good monks went to work, and after a due amount of preliminary fasting and prayer they began by putting into Quiché verses an epitome of Christian doctrine simple enough for children to apprehend,

¹ Helps, *Spanish Conquest*, iii. 337.

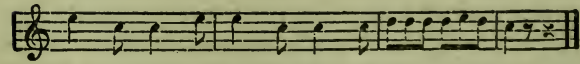
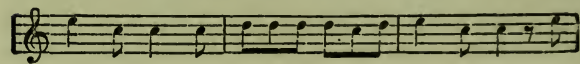
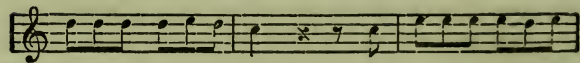
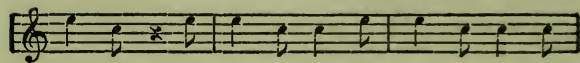
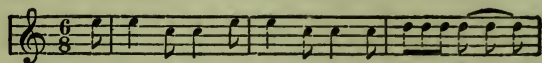
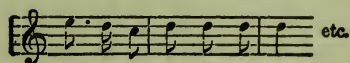
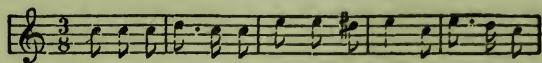
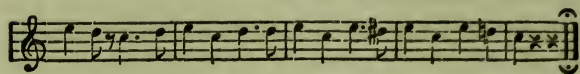
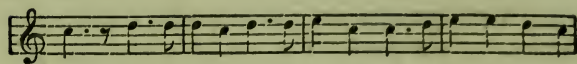
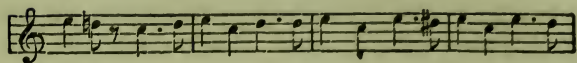
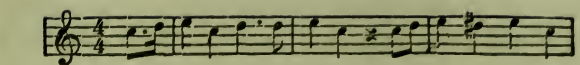
— the story of the fall of man, the life and death of Christ, the resurrection of the dead, and the final judgment. It is a pity that these verses have not been preserved, but no doubt Las Casas, whose great heart knew so well how to touch the secret springs of the Indian mind, knew how to make the story as attractive and as moving as possible. The verses were nicely balanced in couplets, so as to aid the memory, and were set to music so that they might be chanted to the accompaniment of the rude Indian instruments. Then the monks found four Indian traders, who were in the habit of travelling now and then through the "Land of War" with goods to barter. They spent many weeks in winning the affection of these Indians and teaching them their sacred poem, explaining everything with endless patience, until the new converts knew it all by heart and felt able to answer simple questions about it. When the monks felt sure that the work was thoroughly done, they despatched the four traders on their missionary errand to the pueblo of the most powerful cacique in that country, taking care to provide them with an ample store of mirrors, bells, Spanish knives, and other stuff attractive to barbarians.

When the traders arrived at their destination they were hospitably received, and, according to custom, were lodged in the tecpan.¹ They were zealous in their work, and obeyed their instructions faithfully. After vending their wares as usual, they called for

Preparations
for a peaceful
invasion of the
Land of War.

How an en-
trance was
effected.

¹ See Bandelier, in *Peabody Museum Reports*, vol. ii. p. 673.



Ancient Nahuatl Flute Melodies.

some Mexican drums or timbrels, and proceeded to chant their sacred couplets.¹ They were well received. Indians uttering such strange sweet words must have seemed miraculously inspired, and so the audience thought. For several days the performance was repeated, and the traders were beset with questions. After a while they drew pictures of the tonsured monks, and said that they learned these mysteries from these holy men, who, although white men, were not like other Spaniards, for they spent their lives in doing good, they had no wives, they treated all women with respect, they

¹ As a specimen of the kind of music likely to have been employed on this occasion, I give a page of ancient Nahuatl flute melodies, taken from Dr. Brinton's *The Güegüence; a Comedy Ballet in the Nahuatl-Spanish Dialect of Nicaragua*, Philadelphia, 1883. In the introduction to that interesting work there is a section on the music and musical instruments of the natives of Nicaragua, who were and are an outlying branch of the great Nahua people. From statements of Oviedo, Father Duran, Benzoni, and other old writers, further illustrated by the investigations of modern travellers, Dr. Brinton has made a learned and valuable essay. If the reader who is familiar with the history of music will take the trouble to compare the melodies here cited from page xxxiv. of Dr. Brinton's work with the melodies from the *Güegüence* itself, given by Dr. Brinton on page xl., he will recognize at once that the latter have been produced under Spanish influences, while the former show no trace of such influence and are undoubtedly genuine aboriginal music. The reader will observe the monotony and the limited range of the melodies here cited, and can imagine the lugubrious but perhaps not wholly unpleasant effect of such tunes when chanted in the open air to the accompaniment of the *teponaztli* or old Mexican timbrels. For some account of the ancient Peruvian music, see Garcilasso, *Comentarios reales*, pt. i. lib. ii. cap. xxvi. An interesting collection of Zúñi melodies, recorded upon phonographic cylinders by Dr. Fewkes, of the Hemenway Archæological Expedition, may be found in the *Journal of American Ethnology and Archæology*, vol. i. pp. 63-92.

cared nothing for gold, and they taught that the time had come for abolishing human sacrifices. The cacique became so interested as to send his younger brother back to Guatemala with the Indian traders, charging him to watch the Dominicans narrowly, and if he should find them answering to the description that had been given of them he might invite them to visit Tuzulutlan.

Thus the ice was broken. It is needless to say that the young chieftain was well received, or that he was satisfied with what he saw. The invitation was given, and one of the Dominicans, the noble Luis de Barbastro, who was the most fluent of the four in the Quiché The first positions carried. language, now made his way into the inaccessible fastnesses of Tuzulutlan, escorted by the young chief and the Indian traders. By the first of November, six months after the beginning of the enterprise, Father Luis had converted the cacique and several clan chiefs, a rude church had been built, and human sacrifices prohibited by vote of the tribal council.¹ Then Las Casas, with another monk, arrived upon the scene. There was much excitement among the tawny people of Tuzulutlan. The hideous priests of the war-god were wild with rage. They reminded the people, says Remesal, that the flesh of these white men, dressed with chile sauce, would make a dainty dish. Some secret incendiary burned the church, but as the cacique

¹ As already observed, there are many indications in the history of the conquest of Mexico and Central America that a considerable portion of the people were by no means unwilling to bid farewell to their cruel religions.

and so many clan chiefs had been gained, there was no open rebellion. Before another year had elapsed the Indians had voluntarily destroyed their idols, renounced cannibalism, and promised to desist from warfare unless actually invaded. And now were to be seen the fruits of the masterly diplomacy of Las Casas. Though the cacique had thrice defeated the Spaniards, he knew well how formidable they were. By acknowledging the supremacy of Charles V. — a sovereign as far off as the sky — and paying a merely nominal tribute, he had the word of Las Casas, which no Indian ever doubted, that not a Spaniard, without the express permission of the Dominicans, should set foot upon his territory. This arrangement was made, the peaceful victory was won, and Las Casas returned to Guatemala, taking with him the cacique, to visit Alvarado, who had just returned from Spain.

This rough soldier, it will be remembered, was the man who by his ill-judged brutality had precipitated the catastrophe of the Spaniards in the city of Mexico on the May festival of 1520. In his hard heart there was, however, a gallant spot. He knew a hero when he saw him, and he well knew that, with all his military qualities, he could never have done what Las Casas had just done. So when the stern conqueror and lord of Guatemala, coming forth to greet Las Casas and the Indian king, took off his plumed and jewelled cap, and bent his head in reverence, it seems to me one of the beautiful moments in history, one of the moments that comfort us with the thought of

what may yet be done with frail humanity when the spirit of Christ shall have come to be better understood. Of course Alvarado confirmed the agreement that no lay Spaniard should be allowed to enter Tuzulutlan; was he not glad enough thus to secure peace on this difficult and dangerous frontier?

Las Casas now, in 1539, went to Spain and had the agreement confirmed in a most solemn and peremptory order from Charles V. The order was obeyed. The "Land of War" was left unmolested and became thenceforth a land of peace.¹ Not only did it cease to trouble the Spaniards, but it became a potent centre for missionary work and a valuable means of diffusing Christian influences among other Indian communities. The work was permanent. Las Casas had come, he had seen, and he had conquered; and not a drop of human blood had been shed!

Meanwhile he had not been idle in other directions, and at length had gained the most powerful of allies. That reformation within the Papacy, which was one of the consequences of Luther's revolt, was beginning. Paul III. was a pope of different type from either the wretched Borgia or the elegant and worldly Medici. In the summer of 1537, while Las Casas and his monks were preparing their mission to the "Land of War," the Pope issued a brief forbidding the further enslavement of Indians, under penalty of excommunication. Henceforth

The "Land of True Peace."

Enslavement of Indians forbidden by the Pope.

¹ A part of this region has ever since borne the name Vera Paz, or "True Peace," and thus upon every map is this noblest of conquests recorded.

any governor who should give, or any settler who should receive, a new *encomienda* of Indians, or who should forcibly deprive them of their goods, was to be refused the sacraments of the Church. Thus the further spread of slavery was to be stopped. Before leaving Guatemala for Spain, Las Casas had the pleasure of translating this decree into Spanish and sending it to all parts of the Indies.¹ He was detained five years in Spain, as the emperor needed his advice, and it was during this period that he wrote his "Destruction of the Indies" and other famous books. In 1542 he won his grand and decisive triumph in the promulgation of the New Laws by Charles V.

The New
Laws.

The decisive clause was as follows:—
"Item. We order and command that henceforward for no cause whatever, whether of war, rebellion, ransom, or in any other manner, can any Indian be made a slave." This clause was never repealed, and it stopped the spread of slavery. Other clauses went further, and made such sweeping provisions for immediate abolition that it proved to be impossible to enforce them.² The rebellion

¹ A copy of the text of this papal brief is given in Remesal, lib. iii. cap. xvii.

² "It is well known that the liberation of the Indians from personal servitude was a measure, not only of humanity and justice, but also of policy, on the part of the Spanish government, to weaken the growing power of the conquerors and early colonists. The troubles in Peru give a good example of the state of affairs." Bandelier, in *Peabody Museum Reports*, vol. ii. p. 445. There is some reason for believing that at the time of Gasca's arrival in Peru, Gonzalo Pizarro was intending to throw off his allegiance to Spain entirely and make himself king, in which he would doubtless have been upheld by the settlers had not Gasca

in Peru, which ended in bringing Gonzalo Pizarro's head to the block, was chiefly a rebellion against the New Laws, and as will be inferred from our account of Gasca's proceedings, it was suppressed chiefly by repealing those clauses that operated as a confiscation of property in slaves already existing. The matter was at last compromised by an arrangement that *encomiendas* should be inheritable during two lives, and should then escheat to the crown. This reversion to the crown The final compromise. meant the emancipation of the slaves.

Meanwhile such provisions were made, and by degrees more and more stringently enforced, as to protect the lives of the Indians and keep them together in their own communities, so that the dreadful *encomienda* reverted to the milder form of the *repartimiento*. Absolute slavery was transformed into villenage. In this ameliorated form the system continued. As generations passed from the scene, the Spanish crown was persuaded to extend the inheritance of the *encomienda* to a third and a fourth life, but without surrendering the reversion. Moreover, there were always some reversions falling in for want of heirs, so that there was gradual emancipation from the first. In this way Indian slavery was tethered and restricted

been able to bring the news of the modification in the New Laws. See the letter from Carvajal to Pizarro, dated March 17, 1547: — "Y esto suplico á vuestra Señoría, que se hierre por mi cabeça; porque para la corona de Rey, con que, en tan breves dias, emos de coronar á vuestra Señoría, avra muy gran concurso de gente. Y para entonces, yo quiero tener cargo de aderecerlas, y tenerlas como conviene." Fernandez, *Historia del Peru*, pt. i. lib. ii. cap. xlix.

until, after the middle of the eighteenth century, under the enlightened administration of Count Florida Blanca, it was annulled.

Though it took so long to reap the full result of the heroic labours of Las Casas, the triumph was none the less his triumph. It was he that, in despite of all harrowing rebuffs and disappointments, brought pope and emperor to his side in the unconquerable determination that the enslavement of Indians must be stopped. He arrested the evil, and though he did not live to see it eradicated, he gave it such direction to things that their further course was upward and not downward. Before he died there was in every part of Spanish America a staff of crown officers charged with the duty of protecting the interests of the crown in the reversion of the *encomiendas*.¹ Then it was no longer possible with impunity to repeat the horrors of Hispaniola and of Nicaragua. It was Las Casas that saved the greater part of Spanish America from such a fate.²

Immense results of his labours.

¹ The contemporary testimony of one of the greatest and noblest of Spanish historians to the improvement already wrought in Peru through the work of Las Casas is worth citing:—"In the audiences there are learned men of great piety, who punish those Spaniards that oppress the Indians in any way; so that now there is no one who can ill treat them, and, in the greater part of these kingdoms, they are as much masters of their own estates and persons as are the Spaniards themselves. Each village is moderately assessed with the amount to be paid as tribute. I remember that, when I was in the province of Xauxa a few years ago, the Indians said to me with much satisfaction: 'This is a happy time, like the days of Tupac Inca Yupanqui;' a king of ancient times, whose memory they hold in great veneration." Cieza de Leon, ed. Markham, vol. i. p. 13.

² The words of Sir Arthur Helps are strictly just and true:—

The remaining years of this noble life, full as they are of interest, must be passed over briefly. After refusing the bishopric of Cuzco, Las Casas was persuaded to accept the humbler position of bishop of Chiapa near Guatemala. He never could be prevailed upon to accept a reward or present of any sort, but he took the see of Chiapa, as a soldier would undertake to storm a redoubt. He knew there was hard work in store for him there in enforcing the New Laws. When he arrived upon the scene in 1544, it was much as if Garrison in 1860 had secured from the United States government a decree of emancipation, and then had gone to Charleston with authority to enforce it. The new bishop was greeted with howls of rage. In any other than a Spanish community it might have gone hard with him, but the fiercest Spaniard would always be pretty sure to stop short of laying violent hands upon a prince of the church.¹

Las Casas
made Bishop
of Chiapa.

"His was one of those few lives that are beyond biography, and require a history to be written in order to illustrate them. His career affords perhaps a solitary instance of a man who, being neither a conqueror, a discoverer, nor an inventor, has by the pure force of benevolence become so notable a figure that large portions of history cannot be written, or at least cannot be understood, without the narrative of his deeds and efforts being made one of the principal threads upon which the history is strung." *Spanish Conquest*, vol. iv. p. 350.

¹ "For such is the reverence they bear to the Church here, and so holy a conceit they have of all ecclesiastics, that the greatest Don in Spain will tremble to offer the meanest of them any outrage or affront." Letter of August 15, 1623, referring to the death of Thomas Washington, page to Prince Charles on his visit with Buckingham to Spain, discovered by Mr. Henry FitzGilbert Waters, in the British Museum. See *The Visitor*, Salem, Mass., February 11, 1891.

The dignity, the commanding tact, of Las Casas was moreover such that a terrible mob at Ciudad Real ended in the rioters throwing themselves in tears at his feet, kissing the hem of his robe, and begging his forgiveness.¹ After three years Las Casas resigned his bishopric and returned to Spain. It was a time when the New Laws were imperilled, and he felt that his steadying hand was needed at the Spanish court, while he had now in the New World so many Dominicans devoted to the good work that he could afford to leave it to the care of these faithful lieutenants.² During the vicissitudes of his long struggle he had crossed the Atlantic not less than fourteen times; he had once, it appears, sailed down the Pacific to Peru; he had four times travelled far into Germany to get the emperor's ear at some critical moment. Now his journeyings were to cease. After leaving America in 1547 he returned no more, but lived for the remaining nineteen years of his life at the Dominican college of San Gregorio at Valladolid.

His final return to Spain.

In 1550 he took part in a great controversy with Juan de Sepulveda, one of the most celebrated scholars of that time. Sepulveda wrote a book in which he maintained the right of the pope and the king of Spain to make war upon the heathen people of the New World and bring them forcibly into the fold

His controversy with Sepulveda.

¹ See the thrilling accounts in Remesal, lib. vii. cap. viii.-x.; Helps, iv. 303-312.

² I would by no means be understood as wanting in appreciation of the glorious work of Motolinia and other noble Franciscans, but our subject has its limitations.

of Christ. This was contrary to the doctrine which Las Casas had set forth fifteen years before in the Latin treatise above mentioned. He felt that it was dangerous, and determined to answer Sepulveda. After the fashion of those days, Charles V. convoked at Valladolid a council of learned theologians, and the cause was argued before them at great length by Las Casas and Sepulveda. The doughty champions assailed each other with texts from the Bible and Aquinas, scholastic logic and patristic history, and every other weapon known in the mediæval armory. For a man of such fervour as Las Casas it was a delicate situation. In maintaining his ground that persuasion is the only lawful method for making men Christians, extreme nicety of statement was required, for the least slip might bring him within the purview of the Inquisition. Men were burning at the stake for heresy while this discussion was going on, and the controversy more than once came terribly near home. But as Sepulveda said afterwards, with unfeigned admiration of his antagonist, he was "the most crafty and vigilant of mortals, and so ready with his tongue that in comparison with him Homer's Ulysses was a thick-witted stutterer."¹ When it came to a judgment the council did not dare to occupy the position of Las Casas, and so they gave a hesitating judgment in favour of Sepulveda; but the emperor, doubt-

¹ "Longum esset præstigias, artes et machinamenta commemorare, quibus me deprimere, et veritatem atque justitiam obscurare conatus est artifex ille versutissimus, et idem vigilantissimus et loquacissimus, cui Ulysses Homericus collatus iners erat et balbus." Sepulveda, *Opera*, Madrid, 1780, tom. iii. p. 241.

less with a pleasant smile for Master Bartholomew, proceeded forthwith to suppress Sepulveda's book, and sent stringent orders to America to have any copies of it found there seized and burned.

In 1555 Charles V. retired to the monastery of Yuste, and his son Philip II. became king of Spain.

Las Casas and Philip II. Philip's plans, as all know, were so vast and so impossible that he wrecked himself and Spain with them. At the outset he was short of money, and there were advisers at hand to remind him that the colonists in America would jump at the chance of buying in the reversion of their *encomiendas* at a handsome price in hard cash. This would at once put a very large sum of money into Philip's hands, and it would put the Indians back into absolute slavery, as in the old days in Hispaniola. The temptation was great, and against such a frightful disaster Las Casas, now in his eighty-second year, came forth to contend. Fortunately the power of the Church, reinforced by political considerations already mentioned, was firmly enlisted on his side, and he prevailed. This was the last of his triumphs, and it is worth remembering that pretty much the only praiseworthy thing Philip II. ever did was done under his influence.

In his eighty-seventh year, in the peaceful seclusion of the college at Valladolid, Las Casas brought to a close the great "History of the Indies," which he seems to have begun in the monastery at San Domingo more than thirty years before. A remark of Remesal's makes it probable that the book was begun, per-

The History of the Indies.

haps in so far as the sketching of its general outline was concerned, as early as 1527, but its knowledge of contemporary writers and events proves that it was for the most part written between 1552 and 1561. In a formal note dated November, 1559, Las Casas consigned the book in trust to the College of San Gregorio, expressing his wish that it should not be made public before the end of that century. Partly from the inertia attendant upon all human things, partly because of the plainness with which it told such terrible truths, the book was allowed to lie in manuscript for more than three hundred years. During the present century such writers as Irving, Helps, and a few others, read it to good purpose in the manuscript, and at length in 1875 it was published. In a far truer sense than any other book, it may be called the corner-stone of the history of the American continent. It stops at 1522, when Las Casas became a Dominican monk. One wishes that it might have been continued to 1547, when he took his last leave of the New World. But there are limits even to what the longest and strongest life can do. After finishing his work upon this book, and in his ninetieth year, Las Casas wrote a valuable treatise on the affairs of Peru. His last act was to go to Madrid and secure a royal decree promoting in certain ways the welfare of the natives of Guatemala. Having accomplished this, he died at Madrid, after a few days' illness, at the age of ninety-two. In all this long and arduous life — except for a moment, perhaps, on the crushing news of the destruction of his

Death of Las
Casas.

colony upon the Pearl Coast — we find no record of work interrupted by sickness, and to the very last his sight was not dim nor his natural force abated.

In contemplating such a life as that of Las Casas, all words of eulogy seem weak and frivolous. The historian can only bow in reverent awe before a figure which is in some respects the most beautiful and sublime in the annals of Christianity since the Apostolic age. When now and then in the course of the centuries God's providence brings such a life into this world, the memory of it must be cherished by mankind as one of its most precious and sacred possessions. For the thoughts, the words, the deeds of such a man, there is no death. The sphere of their influence goes on widening forever. They bud, they blossom, they bear fruit, from age to age.

CHAPTER XII.

THE WORK OF TWO CENTURIES.

THE wreck of the Admiral's flagship on the Christmas of 1492 determined the site of the first European colony in the New World, and perhaps it is not too much to say that by this accident the fortunes of Columbus were from that day forth linked to the island of Hispaniola. There the Spanish colonial society assumed its earliest type. From that island we have seen the lines of discovery and conquest radiating westward with Velasquez and Cortes, and southward with Balboa and the Pizarros. To Hispaniola we returned in order to trace the beginnings of Indian slavery and the marvellous career of Las Casas. From Hispaniola we must now again take our start, but to return no more. We have to follow the lines of discovery northward with Ponce de Leon and Pineda, and far beyond them, until we have obtained a sketch of the development of the knowledge of the huge continental mass of North America. This development was the Work of Two Centuries, and during that period much other work of cardinal importance was going on in the world, which had resulted before its close in the transfer of maritime supremacy and the lead in colonial enterprise

Hispaniola
the centre of
Spanish colo-
nization.

from Spain and Portugal to France and England. In completing our geographical story, therefore, we shall return no more to Hispaniola, but shall be led farther and farther away from that earliest centre, under the guidance of various leaders with various aims, until the epilogue will take us into the frozen zone which was visited in our prologue, and once more we shall see a stout Scandinavian captain land upon the shores of North America, coming this time, however, from the Siberian coast with Russian ships, to sever the last link that in men's minds continued to connect the New World with the continent of Asia. In covering so much ground in a single chapter, we must be content with a mere sketch of the outlines ; for that will be most conducive to clearness and will best harmonize with the general plan upon which this work has been from the outset conceived.

As we have already seen, it is in a high degree probable that the peninsula of Florida was circumnavigated, and a portion of the Atlantic coast to the northward visited, in the spring and summer of 1498, by an expedition in which Pinzon and Solis were the commanders, with Vespuccius and Ledesma assisting as pilots. Reasons have also been given why that voyage was not followed up and came to be wellnigh forgotten, as was also the case, though to a less extent, with the voyages of John Cabot and the Cortereals. The Indian ocean, with its spices, being the region toward which men's eager eyes were turned, the

First voyage
of Vespuccius.

wild coasts of North America were hastily glanced at and abandoned, very much as your dog sniffs at an unpromising bone, and turns away. As already observed, the only probable effect of a voyage around Florida at that moment would be to throw more or less discredit upon Marco Polo.

Stories from eastern Asia had not, however, lost their charm for adventurers. In Mandeville's multifarious ragout there is mention of a Fountain of Youth at a place called Polombe. The author cribbed it from a spurious letter purporting to come from Prester John, which made its way through Europe in the latter part of the twelfth century. Those that drink of this fountain, says the old rogue, seem always young, as he knows because he has tried it himself!¹ Now this Fons Juventutis had its remote

The Fountain
of Youth.

¹ "At the heued of þis ilk forest es þe citee of Polombe; and besyde þat citee es a mountayne, wharoff þe citee takeþ þe name, for men calleþ þe mountayne Polombe. And at þe fote of þis mountayne es a well, noble and faire; and þe water þeroff has a swete sauour and reffaire, as it ware of diuerse maner of spicery. And ilke houre of þe day þe water chaungeþ diuersely his sauour and his smell. And wha so drinkes fastand thryes of þat well, he sall be hale of what maner of malady þat he hase. And forþi þat wonneþ nere þat well drynkeþ þeroff ofter, and þerfore þai hafe neuermore sekeness, bot euermore þai seme yung. I, John Maundeuill, sawe þis well and drank þeroff thrys and all my felawes, and euermore sen þat tyme I fele me þe better and þe haler and supposeþ for to do till þe tyme þat Godd of his grace will make me to passe oute of þis dedly lyf. Sum men calleþ þat well *Fons iuuentutis*, þat es for to say, þe well of yowthede; for þai þat drinkeþ þeroff semeþ all way yung. And þai say þis well commeþ fra Paradys terrestre, for it es so vertuous. Thurgh e oute all þis cuntree þer growes þe best gynger þat es ower whare; and marchaundes commeþ pider fra ferre cuntreeþ for to bye it." Roxburgh Club's *Buke of Mandeuill*, p. 84.

origin in folk-lore, and there is nothing strange in the Spaniards hearing things said by the Indians that reminded them of it. From something thus said by the Indians they got the idea that upon an island called Bimini, northward from Hispaniola, this famous fountain was situated ;¹ and in 1512 the brave Juan Ponce de Leon, who had come out with Columbus in his second voyage, obtained King Ferdinand's permission to go and conquer Bimini. He sailed with three caravels from Porto Rico in March, 1513, and on the 27th of that month, being Easter Sunday, which in Spanish is called Pascua Florida, he came within sight of the coast ever since known as that of Florida. On the 2d of April Ponce de Leon landed a little north of the site of St. Augustine, and then turned back and followed the coast of the peninsula around to its west side in latitude 27° 30'. Further exploration was prevented at that time by the breaking out of war with the Caribs. It was not until 1521 that Ponce de Leon was able to take a colony to the Land of Easter. His party was attacked with great fury by the Indians, and instead of finding his fountain of youth he received a wound in the thigh from a flint arrow, which caused him to abandon the enterprise and retreat to Cuba, where he died after prolonged suffering.

Proof was already at hand that Florida was not an island, for in 1519 Alvarez de Pineda had followed that coast as far as the site of Tampico

¹ Peter Martyr, dec. ii. lib. x.; cf. Oviedo, pt. i. lib. xix. cap. xv.

in Mexico, where he found Cortes and his men in the course of their preliminary wanderings before founding Vera Cruz. Pineda then turned back, and after a while entered the mouth of the Mississippi, which he called Rio de Santo Espiritu. He seems to have Pineda's discovery of the Mississippi, 1519. been the first European to sail upon this great river. How far he ascended it is not clear, but he spent six weeks upon its waters and its banks, trading with the Indians, who seemed friendly and doubtless laboured under the usual first impression as to the supernatural character of the white men. Pineda said that he saw one considerable Indian town and no less than forty hamlets, and that the Indians wore gold ornaments.¹

This voyage increased the interest in exploration to the northward, and another cause now began to operate in the same direction. When the remnant of Magellan's expedition returned to Spain in 1522, after its three years' voyage, it first began to be dimly realized in Europe that there was an immense ocean between Mundus Novus and Asia. It now became an object to find ways of getting past or through this barrier of land which we now call America, in order to make the voyage to Asia. In 1525 Garcia de Loaysa was sent by the Spanish government to the strait of Magellan, and arrived there. Early in 1526 one of Loaysa's ships was caught by a storm in the

¹ See Navarrete, *Coleccion*, tom. iii. pp. 147-153; Herrera, dec. ii. lib. x. cap. xviii.; Peter Martyr, dec. v. cap. i. In his visit to Tampico, Pineda was preceded by Diego de Camargo, who sailed thither in 1518. See Las Casas, *Hist. de las Indias*, tom. iv. p. 466.

Atlantic, near the strait, and driven southward as far as Cape Horn, but this fact did not attract general attention. The voyage of Magellan did not end the controversy between Spain and Portugal as to the ownership of the Moluccas, for their longitude was variously reckoned. Did they lie west or east of the meridian antipodal to Pope Alexander's dividing line on the Atlantic? With the best of intentions, the problem of longitude was in those days very difficult, and a discrepancy of a thousand miles or more between the Spanish and Portuguese reckonings was likely enough to occur, even had there been no bias on the part of the reckoners. As it was, there was no hope of agreement between the two powers, except through some political compromise. In 1524 the question was submitted to what is known as the Congress of Badajos.

Badajos, an assembly of cosmographers, pilots, and lawyers, including such famous names as Ferdinand Columbus and Sebastian Cabot, with Estevan Gomez, Sebastian Elcano, Diego Ribeiro, and others. "They were empowered to send for persons and papers, and did in reality have before them pilots, papal bulls, treaties, royal grants and patents, log books, maps, charts, globes, itineraries, astronomical tables, the fathers of the church, ancient geographies and modern geographers, navigators with their compasses, quadrants, astrolabes, etc. For two months they fenced, ciphered, debated, argued, protested, discussed, grumbled, quarrelled, and almost fought, yet they

could agree upon nothing.”¹ The congress broke up without any definite result, and Spain retained her hold upon the Spiceries. The Philippine archipelago, which equally with the Moluccas lies on the Portuguese side of the dividing line, remains in Spanish hands to this day. But in 1529 Charles V. ceded his claim upon the Moluccas to Portugal for 350,000 gold ducats. His original intention was merely to grant a long lease, but by some oversight no precise period was mentioned, and the lease was suffered to become perpetual. In 1548 the emperor was urged by his legal advisers to recall the lease, but would not; whereat “some marvelled and others grieved, but all held their peace.”²

Now since the Portuguese used their own route across the Indian ocean to the Spiceries, many years elapsed before much attention was paid to the southern extremity of South America. The next person to see Cape Horn was Sir Francis Drake in 1578, and the first person to sail around it was the Dutch navigator Schouten van Horn, after whom it was named. This was not until 1616.

It was the excessive length of the voyage from Europe to Asia by this southwestern route that prevented activity in this direction. Sailors began trying to find shorter routes. As it was now

¹ Stevens, *Historical and Geographical Notes*, p. 42. “Estuvieron muchos dias mirando globos, cartas y relaciones, y alegando cada qual de su derecho, y porfiando terribilissimamente.” Gomara, *Historia general de las Indias*, Antwerp, 1554, fol. 131 verso.

² Guillemard's *Magellan*, p. 16.

proved that there was a continuous coast-line all the way from the strait of Magellan to the St. John's river in Florida, one immediate effect of Magellan's voyage was to turn people's attention to the northward in the hope of finding a northwest passage from Europe to Asia. A most pathetic and thrilling story is that of the persistent search for the Northwest Passage, kept up for 330 years, and gradually pushed farther and farther up among Arctic ice-floes, until at length in 1854 the passage was made from Bering strait to Davis strait by Sir Robert McClure. For more than a century after Magellan did navigators anxiously scan the North American coast and sail into the mouths of great rivers, hoping to find them straits or channels leading into the western ocean; for it began to be plain that this coast was not Asia, but a barrier in the way thither, and until long inland expeditions had been made, how was anybody to know anything about the mass of the northern continent, or that it was so many times wider than Central America?

The first of these navigators was Lucas Vasquez d' Ayllon, who came up in 1524 from Hispaniola and tried the James river and Chesapeake bay. Not finding a northwest passage, but liking the country, he obtained a grant of it from Charles V., and in 1526 began to build a town called San Miguel, about where the English founded Jamestown eighty-one years afterward. Negro slaves were employed by the Spaniards in this work, and this would seem

Search for a
Northwest
Passage, 1524-
1854.

Spanish col-
ony on James
river, 1526.

to be the first instance of slave labour on the part of negroes within the territory since covered by the United States. Ayllon had 600 people with him, both men and women, besides 100 horses; and Antonio Montesino accompanied him as missionary preacher. If this enterprise had succeeded, the future course of American history might have been strangely modified. But Ayllon died of a fever, and under the combined effects of hunger and sickness, internecine quarrels, negro insurrection, and attacks from the Indians, the little colony soon succumbed; and of the survivors the greater part were shipwrecked on the way back to Hispaniola. Antonio Montesino was sent in 1528 to Venezuela, where he disappears from history. When or where he died we do not know, save that in the register of the Dominican monastery of San Estevan, in Salamanca, against the honoured name of Antonio Montesino there is written in some unknown hand this marginal note, *Obiit martyr in Indiis*, "died a martyr in the Indies," which must probably mean that he was somewhere slain by poor stupid red men unable to recognize their best friends.

While Ayllon was losing his own life and those of his people on the bank of the James river, another navigator was searching for a new route for the ships of Charles V. to the Moluccas. In the course of the year 1525 Estevan Gomez, Voyage of Gomez, 1525. the pilot who had so basely deserted Magellan, coasted from Labrador to Florida, taking notice of Cape Cod, Narragansett bay, and the mouths of the Connecticut, Hudson, and Dela-

ware rivers. The comment of Peter Martyr upon this voyage of Gomez is very significant, as illustrating the small favour with which such voyages as those of the Cabots and the first of Vespucci had been regarded. "Stephanus Gomez, . . . neither finding the straight, nor Gaitaia [Cathay] which he promised, returned backe within tenn monethes after his departure. I always thought and presupposed this good man's imaginations were vayn and friuolous. Yet wanted he no suffrages and voyces in his fauour and defence. Notwithstanding he found pleasant and profitable countries, agreeable with our parallels and degrees of the pole. . . . *But what need haue we of these things which are common with all the people of Europe?* To the South, to the South for the great and exceeding riches of the Equinoctiall: they that seek riches must not go vnto the cold and frozen North." ¹

Gomez seems to have been preceded on these coasts by more than one navigator sailing in the service of France. We have already observed Norman and Breton sailors taking their share in the fisheries upon the banks of Newfoundland from the beginning of the century.² Francis I. of

¹ Martyr, dec. viii. cap. x.; Herrera, dec. iii. lib. viii. cap. viii.; Gomara, cap. xl.; Oviedo, cap. x. In Diego Ribeiro's map, made in 1529, the regions about Virginia are called "land of Ayllon," and the regions from New Jersey to Rhode Island are called "land of Estevan Gomez." The name given by Gomez to what was afterwards called Hudson's river was Rio de San Antonio. See De Costa, *Sailing Directions of Henry Hudson*, Albany, 1869, p. 44.

² For L  ry's attempt to found a colony at Cape Breton in 1518, see Sixte Le Tac, *Histoire chronologique de la Nouvelle France*, pp. 40, 58.

France manifested but slight reverence for Pope Alexander VI. and his bulls. According to Bernal Diaz he sent word to his great rival Charles V., asking him by what right he and the king of Portugal undertook to monopolize the earth. Had our first father Adam made them his sole heirs? If so it would be no more than proper for them to produce a copy of the will; and meanwhile he should feel at liberty to seize upon all he could get. Among the corsairs active at that time in the French marine was one known to the Spaniards as Juan Florin or Florentin. His name was Giovanni da Verrazano, and he seems to have been born about 1480 at Florence, where his family had attained distinction. In 1523 he captured the treasure on its way from Cortes, in Mexico, to the Emperor Charles V.; and early in the next year he crossed the Atlantic with one ship and about fifty men. The first land sighted was probably near Cape Fear, in North Carolina. From that point Verrazano skirted the coast northward as far as latitude 50°, and seems to have discovered the Hudson river, and to have landed upon Rhode Island and at some point not far from the mouth of the Piscataqua. Little or nothing is known of Verrazano after this voyage.¹

Voyage of Verrazano, 1524.

¹ It has been doubted whether Verrazano ever made any such voyage. See Murphy, *The Voyage of Verrazano*, New York, 1875. Mr. Murphy's conclusions have not been generally sustained. For further discussions see Brevoort, *Verrazano the Navigator*, New York, 1874; Asher's *Henry Hudson*, London, 1860, pp. 197-228; Kohl's *Discovery of Maine*, chap. viii.; De Costa, *Verrazano the Explorer*, New York, 1881, with a full bibliographical note; Winsor, *Narr. and Crit. Hist.*, iv. 1-30.

It has been said that he was caught by the Spaniards in 1527 and hanged for piracy, and there is another story that he was roasted and eaten by the Indians in that year, but all this is quite doubtful.

The staggering blows inflicted upon Francis I. by Charles V. in the Italian campaign of 1525 prevented any further activity in following up the voyage of Verrazano. Ten years later came Jacques Cartier, who explored the lower portion of the river St. Lawrence, and found an Iroquois town, named Hochelaga, on an eminence which he called Montreal. Before Champlain's arrival, seventy years later, the Iroquois had been driven from this region. In 1540-43 an unsuccessful attempt was made by the Sieur de Roberval, aided by Cartier, to establish a French colony in Canada. Connected with this expedition was the voyage of the pilot Jehan Allefonsce, of Saintonge, in which he seems to have visited the coast between Cape Cod and Cape Ann.¹ Little more was done by the French in this direction until the time of Champlain.

The maps made about this time reflect the strong desire for a northwest passage to Cathay in the extreme slimness which they assign to a part of the North American mainland. In 1529 Hieronimo da Verrazano made a map in which he undertook to represent his brother's discoveries;² and upon

Cartier and
Roberval,
1534-43.

¹ For a discussion of this voyage, see De Costa, *Northmen in Maine*, pp. 80-122; and his chapter in Winsor, *Narr. and Crit. Hist.*, vol. iv. chap. ii.; see also Weise, *Discoveries of America*, New York, 1884, chap. xi.

² For a reduced copy of the map see Winsor, *Narr. and Crit.*

this map we find Florida connected with the Verrazano region by a slender isthmus. The imaginary sea washing the western shore of this isthmus was commonly known as the Sea of Verrazano. The "Sea of Verrazano." Possibly the notion may have arisen from a misinterpretation of some small neck of land with a bay or sound beyond it somewhere upon the Atlantic coast explored in the voyage of 1524. But, in whatever misconception it may have had its origin, the Sea of Verrazano continued to be reproduced on maps for many years, until inland exploration expelled it. Two interesting illustrations, toward the middle of the sixteenth century, show respectively the wet and the dry theories of the relation of the North American coast to Asia. The first of these maps, made at Venice in 1536, by Baptista Agnese, cuts off the hypothetical unvisited coasts to the south of Peru¹ and to the west and north of Mexico with a dotted line, but gives the equally hypothetical coast of the Verrazano sea as if its existence were quite undoubted. According to this map the voyage to Cathay by the Verrazano route would be at least as simple as the voyage to Peru by way of Panama. A very different view is given upon the "Carta Marina" by Jacopo Gastaldi, published in the Ptolemy of 1548. Here Florida and Mexico appear as parts of Asia, and the general conception is not unlike that of the globe of Orontius Finæus; but the Verrazano sea

Hist., iv. 26. The original is in the College of the Propaganda at Rome.

¹ The coast from the strait of Magellan northward to Peru was first explored by Alonso de Camargo in 1539-40.

appears to the north of Florida. Here, therefore, it does not afford a ready means of access to China, but to some northern ocean washing the shores of an "Upper India," concerning which it may be suspected that the map-maker's ideas were not of the clearest.



Sketch of Agnese's map, Venice, 1536.¹

From this chart of Gastaldi's the position of the Verrazano sea naturally leads us to the map by

¹ KEY: — "1. Terra de bacalaos. 2. (dotted line) El viage de France. 3. (dotted line) El viage de Peru. 4. (dotted line) El viage a maluche. 5. Temistetan. 6. Iucatan. 7. Nombre de dios. 8. Panama. 9. La provintia del peru. 10. La provintia de chinagua. 11. S. paulo. 12. Mundus novus. 13. Brazil. 14. Rio de la plata. 15. El Streto de ferdinando de Magallanas." Winsor, *Narr. and Crit. Hist.*, iv. 40.

Sebastian Münster, published in the Ptolemy of 1540. Though thus published eight years earlier than Gastaldi, this map represents in some respects



Gastaldi's Carta Marina, 1548.¹

a later development toward the more correct views heralded by Mercator.² There is an approach to-

¹ KEY: — "1. Norvegia. 2. Laponia. 3. Gronlandia. 4. Tierra del Labrador. 5. Tierra del Bacalaos. 6. La Florida. 7. Nueva Hispania. 8. Mexico. 9. India Superior. 10. La China. 11. Ganges. 12. Samatra. 13. Java. 14. Panama. 15. Mar del Sur. 16. El Brasil. 17. El Peru. 18. Strecho de Fernande Magalhaes. 19. Tierra del Fuego." Winsor, *Narr. and Crit. Hist.*, iv. 43. Observe that Gastaldi retains the mediæval notion of Greenland as connected with Norway.

² See above, p. 153.



Münster's

¹ Reduced from the sketch in



map, 1540.¹

Winsor, *Narr. and Crit. Hist.*, iv. 41.

ward the conception of the western hemisphere as a distinct and integral whole, though the Pacific is still very narrow and Zipangri (Japan) still comes very near to Mexico, as in the Stobnicza map of 1512. The reader will also observe the New World with its Catigara, the significant mark of a Ptolemaic pedigree, although now quite torn asunder from Asia. Pizarro and his pilots would, I suspect, have laughed somewhat rudely at the promontory on which this Catigara is placed, — an imaginary fragment of Asia that happened to stay on this side when the tear came. As to the Verrazano sea, when we compare it upon this map and that of Agnese, as well as upon Michael Lok's map more than forty years later, we can understand how it was that even as late as the seventeenth century such a navigator as Henry Hudson should try to get through his river into the Pacific.

The only means of correcting these inadequate and fluctuating views were to be found in expeditions into the interior of the continent, and here the beginnings were slow and painful. The first Spaniard to avail himself of Pineda's discoveries was Panfilo de Narvaez, the man who had been sent to Mexico to arrest and supersede Cortes, and had so ingloriously failed in that attempt. Pineda's mention of gold ornaments on the Mississippi Indians was enough to set Narvaez in motion. If there was so much glory and plunder in one direction, why not in another? He obtained permission to conquer and govern all the northern coast of the gulf of Mexico, and started

Expedition of
Narvaez.

from Cuba in March, 1528, with four ships, carrying 400 men and 80 horses. Landing at Apalache bay, he made a bootless excursion into the country, and on his return to the seashore was unable to find his ships, which were sailing to and fro on the watch for him. After travelling westward on foot for a month, Narvaez and his men, with desperate exertions, built five frail boats and pursued their journey by water. After six weeks of coasting they came to the mouth of a river so great that it freshened the sea so that they could drink the sea-water. At the mouth of this river, the Mississippi, two of the boats, one of them containing Narvaez himself, were capsized, and all their company lost. The other three boats were thrown ashore, probably somewhere in eastern Texas, and such of their crews as escaped starvation were murdered by the natives. Four men, however, the treasurer Cabeza de Vaca, with two Spanish comrades, Dorantes and Castillo, and a negro called Estevánico, or "Little Steve," had a wonderful course of adventures. They were captured by different parties of Indians and carried about in various directions in the wilderness of western Louisiana and eastern Texas. Cabeza de Vaca achieved some success as a trader, bartering shells and wampum from the coast for "flint flakes, red clay, hides and skins, and other products of the regions inland."¹ A reputation early acquired as a

Adventures of
Cabeza de
Vaca.

¹ The journey of Cabeza de Vaca and his comrades is ably described and their route traced by Mr. Bandelier, *Contributions to the History of the Southwestern Portion of the United States*, Cambridge, 1890 (Papers of the Archæological Institute of America—American Series. V. Hemenway Southwestern Archæological Expedition).

medicine-man or sorcerer proved helpful to him, and may very likely have preserved his life. After strange vicissitudes and terrible sufferings the four comrades were thrown together again at some point west of the Sabine river in Texas. Circumstances happened to give them all a reputation for skilful sorcery, and by degrees they made use of this singular power to induce the parties of Indians with them to move in certain directions rather than others. With a vague hope of finding the seashore they kept in the main a westerly course, and presently their fame grew to such a height that Indians came to them in throngs bringing gifts. Proceeding in this way they presently crossed the Rio Pecos near its junction with the Rio Grande; then ascending the latter river they made their way across Chihuahua and Sonora to the gulf of California, and then turning southward at length in May, 1536, reached Culiacan, then an extreme frontier of the Spaniards, after this wonderful pilgrimage of nearly 2,000 miles.

The reports of this journey aroused much interest among the Spaniards in Mexico. Not less than four attempts at exploration upon the Pacific coasts had been made by Cortes, but not much had been accomplished beyond the discovery of Lower California. Now there were reasons that made the idea of an inland expedition to the northward seem attractive. There was a tradition afloat in Europe, that on the occasion of the conquest of the Spanish peninsula by the Arabs in the eighth century, a certain bishop of Lisbon with a goodly company of followers took refuge upon an

Legend of the
Seven Cities.

island or group of islands far out on the Sea of Darkness, and founded seven cities there. With the fabulous Antilia, which was commonly regarded as the island of the Seven Cities, we have already made acquaintance. Its name, slightly modified into "Antilles," came to be applied to the West Indies. Its seven cities were curiously transferred into the very heart of the American continent. Among the Nahuatl tribes there was a legend of Chicomoztoc, or the Seven Caves from which at some period in the past their ancestors issued. As soon as the Spaniards got hold of this legend they contrived to mix up these Seven Caves with their Seven Cities. They were supposed to be somewhere to the northward, and when Cabeza de Vaca and his comrades had disclosed the existence of such a vast territory north of Mexico, it was resolved to search for the Seven Cities in that direction. The work was entrusted to Fray Marcos of Nizza, or Nice, as we now call it since it has been "reunited" — that is the orthodox French way of expressing it — to France. He was a Franciscan monk of great ability, who had accompanied Pizarro on the first march to Caxamarca to meet Atahualpa. He had afterward gone to Quito and thence seems to have accompanied Alvarado on his return to Guatemala. He had lately found his way to Mexico, and was selected by the great viceroy Antonio de Mendoza to go and find the Seven Cities.¹ He was attended on the journey

Fray Marcos.

¹ Like so many other travellers and explorers Fray Marcos has been charged with falsehood; but his case has been to a considerable extent cleared up in Bandelier's excellent monograph already cited, *Contributions to the History of the Southwestern Portion of the United States*.

by the negro Estevánico and a few Pima Indians who had been educated at Mexico; and their reception by the natives along the route was extremely hospitable. At Matape, an Indian village in Sonora, they heard definite news of a country situated thirty days' march to the northward, where there were seven large cities, "with houses of stone and

The Seven
Cities of
Cibola.

lime, . . . the smallest ones of two stories and a flat roof, and others of three and four stories, and that of the lord with five, all placed together in order; and on the door-sills and lintels of the principal houses many figures of turquoise stones . . . and [it was said] that the people of these cities are very well clothed," etc.¹ The name of the first of these cities was said to be Cibola. And from that time forth this became a common name for the group, and we hear much of the Seven Cities of Cibola.

These were the seven pueblos of Zuñi, in New Mexico, of which six were still inhabited at the end of the sixteenth century. The name Cibola was properly applied to the group, as it referred to the whole extent of territory occupied by the Zuñis.

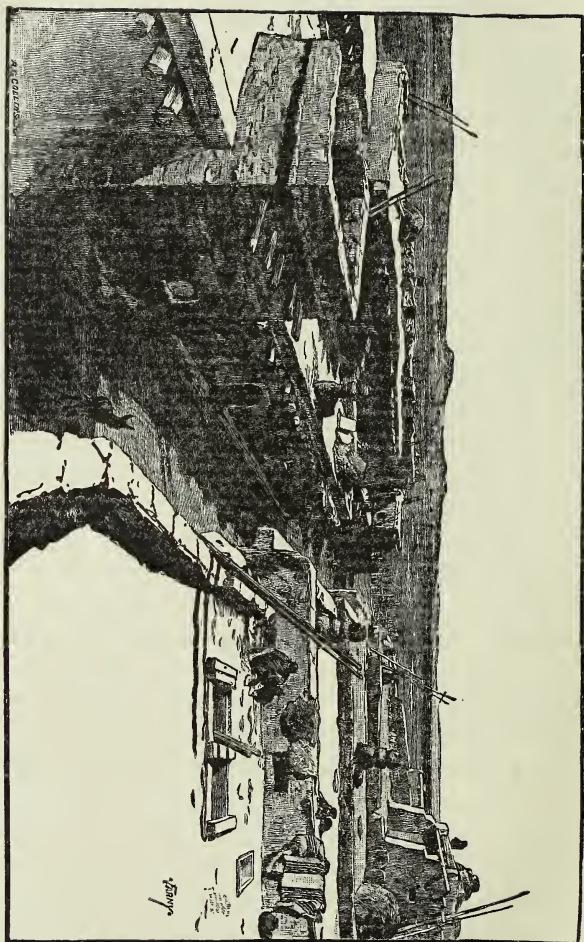
Zuñi.

The surviving pueblo which we know to-day as Zuñi will probably serve as an excellent sample of the pueblo towns visited by the Spaniards in their first wanderings in North America. As Fray Marcos drew near to it he heard much of the power and glory of Cibola, and began to feel that his most romantic anticipations were about to be verified; but now came his first misfortune on this journey, and it was a sharp one.

¹ Bandelier, *op. cit.* p. 130.

Hitherto the white man and the black man had been treated with the reverence due to supernatural beings, or to persons who at least were mighty wizards. But at Kiakima, the first of the Zuñi pueblos, the negro's "medicine" was not accepted. Estevánico travelled some miles in advance of Fray Marcos. When he arrived at the first of the cities of Cibola, flaunting the turquoises and the handsome Indian girls, with whom he had been presented in the course of the journey, — much to the disgust of the Franciscan friar, — the elders and chiefs of the pueblo would not grant him admittance. He was lodged in a small house outside the enclosure, and was cautiously catechised. When he announced himself as the envoy and forerunner of a white man, sent by a mighty prince beyond the sky to instruct them in heavenly things, the Zuñi elders were struck with a sense of incongruity. How could black represent white, or be the envoy and forerunner of white? To the metaphysics of the middle status of barbarism the question wore a very uncanny look, and to the common sense of the middle status of barbarism the self-complacent Estevánico appeared to be simply a spy from some chieftain or tribe that wanted to conquer the Zuñis. A Cortes might easily have dealt with such a situation, but most men would consider it very uncomfortable, and so did poor silly "Little Steve." While the elders were debating whether they should do reverence to him as a wizard, or butcher him as a spy, he stole out of his lodging and sought safety in flight; and this act, being promptly de-

Murder of
Estevánico
and retreat of
Fray Marcos.



A street in Zuni.

tected, robbed him of all dignity and sealed his fate. A hue and cry went after him, and an arrow soon found its way to his heart. The news of this catastrophe checked the advance of Fray Marcos. His Indian comrades were discouraged, and the most he could do was to keep them with him while he climbed a hill whence he could get a Pisgah sight of the glories of Cibola. After he had accomplished this, the party returned with all possible haste to Culiacan, and arrived there in August, 1539, after an absence of five months.

As an instance of the tenacious vitality of tradition, and its substantial accuracy in dealing with a very simple and striking fact, it is interesting to find that to this day the Zuñis remember the fate of Estevánico. In one of the folk-tales taken down by Mr. Cushing from the lips of Zuñi priests, it is said that "previous to the first coming of the *Mexicans* (the Zuñi Indian calls all the Spanish-speaking people *Mexicans*), a *black Mexican* made his appearance at the Zuñi village of Kiakima. He was very greedy, voracious, and bold, and the people killed him for it. After his death the *Mexicans* [i. e. Spaniards] made their appearance in numbers for the first time, and made war upon the Zuñis, conquering them in the end." ¹

Zuñi recollection of the affair.

¹ Bandelier, *op. cit.* p. 154. I think I never spent a pleasanter afternoon than once at Manchester-by-the-sea, with Mr. Cushing and three Zuñi priests who had come thither for the summer to assist him in his work. These Indians of the middle status told me their delightful yarns in exchange for Norse and Russian folk-tales which I told them, and Mr. Cushing served as a lively and dramatic interpreter. These Zuñis were very handsome men,

It was indeed only the next year that the Spaniards made their appearance, accompanied by their terrible horses. Six months after the return of Fray Marcos to Culiacan, an army of 300 Spaniards and 800 Mexican Indians, under Expedition of Coronado. Francisco de Coronado, started for Cibola. They visited the Zuñi and Moqui pueblos, discovered the grand cañon of the Colorado, and marched northward as far as a village called Quivira, concerning the site of which there is some diversity of opinion. The farthest point reached by Coronado may have been somewhere near the boundary between the states of Kansas and Nebraska, or perhaps farther west at some point on the south fork of the Platte river.¹ He passed quite beyond the semi-civilized region of the pueblos, and was disgusted at finding Quivira only a rude village of thatched wigwams instead of the fine city for which he had been looking. The supply of maize and bison-meat prevented the famine which so commonly overwhelmed such long expeditions, and Coronado took excellent care of his men. Many subordinate explorations were undertaken by detached parties, and a vast extent of country was visited. At length, in the spring of 1542, the army returned to Mexico, greatly vexed and cha-

abounding in kindness and droll humour, while their refined grace of manner impressed me as hardly inferior to that of Japanese gentlemen. The combination of this civilized demeanour with the primeval naïveté of their thoughts was in a high degree piquant and interesting.

¹ A detailed account of Coronado's expedition is given in the chapter on "Early Explorations of New Mexico," by H. W. Haynes, in Winsor, *Narr. and Crit. Hist.*, vol. ii. chap. vii.

grined at having discovered no gold nor any wealthy kingdom, and this disappointment found a vent in anathemas vented upon Fray Marcos, which have ever since been echoed by historians.

Not only in the far west, but also in the east, did the experience of Cabeza de Vaca serve to stimulate the desire to explore the interior of the continent. To Fernando de Soto, no less than to the viceroy Mendoza, it seemed as if in such a wide extent of territory there must be kingdoms worth plundering. We have al-^{Expedition of Soto.} ready met with Soto serving under Pizarro in Peru. In 1537 he was appointed governor of Cuba, and was authorized to conquer and occupy the country embraced within the patent of Narvaez. He started from Havana in May, 1539, with nine vessels, containing 570 men and 223 horses. Landing about thirty miles west of the bay of Juan Ponce, he marched laboriously as far northward as the Savannah river, and then turned westward. The golden country for which he was seeking did not appear, but the Indians on the route were very hostile. Though Soto had roundly blamed Pizarro for his treatment of Atahualpa, his own conduct toward Indians seems to have been at once cruel and foolish. The Spaniards had to fight their way across the country, and the tribes of the Creek confederacy were no mean antagonists. At a palisaded village called Mauvila, a few miles above the junction of the Tombigbee and Alabama rivers,¹ there was a desperate fight, in the autumn

¹ It was probably *Mauvila*, or *Maubila*, that gave the name *Mobile* to the river formed by the junction of these two. See Charlevoix, *Journal historique*, p. 452.

of 1541, in which Soto lost 170 of his men, while from the Spanish estimate of 2,500 as the loss of the Indians it would perhaps be safe to strike off a cipher.¹ In December the Spaniards reached the Yazoo, and spent the winter in that neighbourhood. In the spring they crossed the Mississippi at the lowest of the Chickasaw bluffs, and ascended the western bank of the great river as far, perhaps, as New Madrid. Finding no signs of El Dorado in that direction, they turned southward. On the 21st of May, 1542, Soto died of a fever, and was buried in the Mississippi. His men, commanded by Luis de Moscoso, built boats in which they descended the river and coasted westward along the shores of Texas. On the 10th of September, 1543, the survivors of the expedition, 311 in number, reached Tampico.²

The work of founding colonies in North America languished. In 1546-49 a party of Dominican friars, led by the noble Luis de Barbastro, who

¹ The later experiences of American backwoodsmen in fighting these formidable barbarians should make us distrust all stories of battles attended with great disparity of loss. If Soto killed 250 of them without losing more than 170 of his own men, he came off remarkably well. Compare Roosevelt's *Winning of the West*, vol. i. p. 83; vol. ii. 123.

² An excellent account of Soto's expedition by one of the survivors was translated into English in 1611, by Richard Hakluyt, and is now among the publications of the Hakluyt Society: — *The Discovery and Conquest of Florida*, London, 1851. A brief relation by Luis de Biedma is appended to this book. Garcilasso de la Vega also wrote a narrative (*La Florida del Ynca*, Lisbon, 1605) based upon reports of survivors, but uncritically treated. See also Pickett's *History of Alabama*, pp. 25-41. In this connection the reader will find much that is instructive in Jones's *Antiquities of the Southern Indians*, New York, 1873.

had been with Las Casas in Tuzulutlan, made an attempt to found a missionary settle-
 ment in Florida, but they were all mas-
 sacrificed by the Indians. The work was then taken
 up by Guido de Labazares and Tristan de Luna,
 under the auspices of Luis de Velasco, the humane
 and enlightened viceroy of New Spain. Their
 little colony was barely rescued from destruction
 by Angelo de Villafañe in 1561, and in the au-
 tumn of that year Philip II. announced that there
 would be no further attempts to colonize that coun-
 try. As no gold was to be found, the chief reason
 for occupying Florida was to keep the French from
 getting hold of it, and it was thought there was
 no danger of the French coming for the present.

Curiously enough, however, just about this time
 the French did come to Florida. Two French at-
 tempts at colonization grew directly out of the
 wars of religion. The illustrious Coligny was one
 of the first men, if not the very first, to conceive
 the plan of founding a Protestant state in America.
 In 1555 a small expedition, under Nicholas de
 Villegagnon, was sent to the coast of
 Brazil. A landing was made on the
 site of Rio de Janeiro, huts were built, and earth-
 works thrown up. A large reinforcement of Hu-
 guenots, with several zealous ministers from Ge-
 neva, arrived on the scene in 1557. But fierce
 theological disputes combined with want of food
 to ruin the little community. Villegagnon re-
 turned to France to carry on his controversy with
 the clergy, and the next year the miserable sur-

Dominicans in
Florida.

Huguenots in
Brazil.

vivors of the colony were slaughtered by the Portuguese.¹

Coligny's next attempt was made upon the coast of Florida, under the lead of Jean Ribaut, a hardy Huguenot of Dieppe. On May day, 1562, Ribaut, with a small advance party, reached the St. John's river, whence they coasted northward as far as the spot to which they gave the name Port Royal, in what is now South Carolina. Here they built a

Huguenots in
Florida;
Ribaut.

small fortress, and thirty men were left in charge of it while Ribaut returned to France to bring out his colony. For a while the little garrison lived on the hospitality of the Indians, until the latter, who had at first revered them as children of the Sun, began to despise them as sturdy beggars. Then as hunger began to pinch them, they mutinied and slew their commander. The time wore on, and nothing was heard of Ribaut. At last, in sheer despair, they contrived to patch together a crazy brigantine and set sail for France. Their scanty stock of food gave out while they were in mid-ocean, and one of the party had been devoured by his comrades, when they were picked up by an English cruiser and carried off to London.

The return of Ribaut had been delayed by the breaking out of war between the Huguenots and the Guise party; but in 1563 the truce of Amboise made things quiet for a while, and in the following year a new expedition set out for Florida, under the leadership of Ribaut's friend

Laudonnière.

¹ The story of the Huguenots in Brazil is fully told by Lescarbot, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, Paris, 1612, livre ii.

René de Laudonnière, a pious and valiant knight and a kinsman of Coligny. This company was much larger and better equipped than the former, but there was an essential vice in its composition. There were plenty of soldiers and gentlemen unused to labour, and a few clever mechanics and tradesmen, but no tillers of the soil. In France, indeed, the rural population remained wedded to the old faith, and there were no Protestant yeomen as in England. The new expedition landed at the St. John's river, and built a fort near its mouth, which, in honour of Charles IX., was called Fort Caroline. This work off their hands, they devoted themselves to injudicious intrigues with the Indian potentates of the neighbourhood, explored the country for gold, and sent home to France for more assistance. Then they began to be mutinous, and presently resorted to buccaneering, with what fatal consequences will presently be seen. A gang of malcontents stole two of the pinnaces, and set out for the coast of Cuba, where, after capturing a small Spanish vessel, they were obliged to go ashore for food, and were thereupon arrested. Carried before the authorities at Havana, they sought to make things right for themselves by giving full information of the settlement at Fort Caroline, and this ill-omened news was not slow in finding its way to the ears of the king of Spain. It came at an opportune moment for Philip II. He had just found a man after his own heart, Pedro Menendez de Avilès, an admirable soldier and matchless liar, brave as a mastiff and savage as a wolf. This man had persuaded Philip to change his mind and let

him go and try to found a colony in Florida, whereby the Indians might be converted to Christianity.

Menendez, the Last of the Crusaders. Just as Menendez was getting ready to start, there came from Havana the news of the ill-fated Laudonnière and his enterprise. These heretics were trespassers on the territory which Holy Church had assigned to the Spanish crown, and, both as trespassers and as heretics, they must be summarily dealt with. Rumour had added that Ribaut was expected from France with a large armament, so that no time was to be lost. The force at Menendez's disposal was largely increased, and on the 29th of June, 1565, he set sail from Cadiz, with eleven ships and more than 1,000 fighting men, hoping to forestall the arrival of the French commander. The mood in which Menendez started was calculated to make him an ugly customer. He was going on a *crusade*. The original crusades were undertaken for a worthy purpose, and helped to save the Cross from being subdued by the Crescent. But after a while, when heresy became rife, the pope would proclaim a crusade against heretics, and a bloody affair this was apt to be, as the towns of southern France once had reason to know. We may fitly call Menendez the Last of the Crusaders.

Things had fared badly with the colony at Fort Caroline. Mutiny had been checked by the summary execution of a few ringleaders, but famine had set in, and they had come to blows with the Indians. Events succeeded each other curiously. On the 3d of August, in the depth of their distress, Elizabeth's doughty sea-king Sir John Haw-

kins touched at the mouth of the St. John's, gave them food and wine, and offered them a free passage to France in his own ships, and on Laudonnière's refusal left with them a ship with which to make the voyage for themselves if they should see fit. On the 28th of August Ribaut at last arrived with seven ships, bringing 300 men and ample supplies. On the 4th of September, toward midnight, appeared the Spanish fleet!

The squadron of Menendez had undergone great hardships, and several of the vessels had been wrecked. Five ships now arrived, but after exchanging defiance with the French, Menendez concluded not to risk a direct attack, and crept off down the coast until he came to the site of St. Augustine. Some 500 negroes Beginnings of St. Augustine. had been brought on the fleet, and were at once set to work throwing up entrenchments. One of the French ships, hanging in the rear, had taken note of these proceedings, and hurried back to Fort Caroline with the information. It was then decided to leave Laudonnière with a small force to hold the fort, while Ribaut by a sudden naval attack should overwhelm the Spanish fleet and then pounce upon the troops at St. Augustine before their entrenchments were completed. This plan seemed to combine caution with boldness, but the treachery of wind and weather defeated it. On the 10th of September Ribaut set sail, and early next morning his whole fleet bore down upon the Spaniards. But before they could come to action there sprang up an equinoctial gale which drove the French vessels out to sea, and raged so fiercely

for several days as to render it morally certain that, wherever they might be, they could not have effected a return to their fort. It was now the turn of Menendez to take the offensive. On the morning of the 17th, with the storm still raging, he started forth, with 500 men and a couple of Indian guides, to force his way through the forest. For thrice twenty-four hours they waded through swamps and forded swollen brooks, struggling with tall grass and fighting with hatchets the tangled underbrush, — until just before dawn of the 20th, drenched with rain, covered from head to foot with mud, torn with briars, fainting with hunger and weariness, but more than ever maddened with bigotry and hate, this wolfish company swept down the slope before Fort Caroline. The surprise was complete, and the defences, which might barely have sufficed against an Indian assault, were of no avail to keep out these more deadly foes. Resistance was short and feeble. Laudonnière and a few others escaped into the woods, whence, some time afterward, they sought the shore, and were picked up by a friendly ship and carried home to France. Of those who staid in the fort, men, women, and children, to the number of 142, were slaughtered. A few were spared, though Menendez afterward, in his letter to the king, sought to excuse himself for such unwarranted clemency.

Meanwhile the ships of Jean Ribaut were hopelessly buffeting the waves. One after another they were all wrecked somewhere below Matanzas Inlet, a dozen miles south of St. Augustine. Most of the

Slaughter of
the people in
Fort Caroline.

crews and troops were saved, and, collecting in two bodies, began to work their way back toward Fort Caroline. On the 28th of September the first body, some 200 in number, had halted at Matanzas Inlet, which they had no means of crossing, when they encountered Menendez, who with about 70 men was on the lookout for them. The two parties were on opposite sides of this arm of the sea, and the Spaniard so disposed his force among the bushes that the enemy could not estimate their real number. A boat was then sent out, and three or four French officers were decoyed across the river under promise of safety. They now learned that their fort was destroyed, and their wives and comrades murdered. At the same time they were requested, in courteous terms, to lay down their arms and entrust themselves to the clemency of Menendez. Hard as it seemed, starvation stared them in the face as the only alternative, and so after some discussion it was deemed most prudent to surrender. The arms were first sent across the river, and then the prisoners were brought over, ten at a time, each party being escorted by twenty Spaniards. As each party of ten arrived, they were led behind a sand-hill some distance from the bank, and their hands were tied behind their backs. A great part of the day was consumed in these proceedings, and at sunset, when the whole company of Huguenots had thus been delivered defenceless into the hands of their enemy, they were all murdered in cold blood. Not one was left alive to tell the tale.

First massacre at Matanzas Inlet.

A day or two later Ribaut himself, with 350 men,

his entire remaining force, arrived at the inlet, and found Menendez duly ambushed to receive him. Once more the odious scene was acted out. The Frenchmen were judiciously informed of what had been done, but were treated with much courtesy, regaled with bread and wine, and coaxed to surrender. This time there was a difference of opinion. Some 200 swore they would rather be devoured by the Indians than trust to the clemency of such a Spaniard; and they contrived to slip away into the forest. The remaining 150, with Ribaut himself, were ferried across in small detachments, disarmed and bound, as had been done to their comrades, and when all had been collected together, all but five were put to death. That is to say, five were spared, but besides these, one sailor, who was not quite killed, contrived to crawl away, and after many adventures returned to France, to tell the harrowing tale. From this sailor, and from one of the five who were spared, we get the French account of the affair. The Spanish account we have from Menendez himself, who makes his official report to the king as coolly as a farmer would write about killing pigs or chickens. The two accounts substantially agree, except as regards the promise of safety by which the Frenchmen were induced to surrender. Menendez represents himself as resorting to a pious fraud in using an equivocal form of words, but the Frenchman declares that he promised most explicitly to spare them, and even swore it upon the cross. I am inclined to think that the two statements may be reconciled, in view of the acknowledged skill

Second massacre at Matanzas Inlet.

of Menendez and all his kith and kin as adroit dissemblers. After all said and done, it was a foul affair, and the name Matanzas, which means "slaughterings," came naturally enough to attach itself to that inlet, and remains to this day a memento of that momentary fury of a New World crusade.

It used to be said in the days of Philip II. that wherever in any country there turned up a really first-class job of murder, you might be sure the king of Spain had something to do with it. The St. Bartholomew affair, for example, ^{Philip II.} was a case in point. The job done by Menendez, though small in scale, was certainly a thorough one, for it ended the Huguenot colony in Florida. Of the remnant of Ribaut's force which did not surrender, some disappeared among the Indians. Some were captured by Menendez, and the lives of these he spared, inasmuch as from the glut of slaughter some of his own men recoiled and called him cruel. From his master, however, Menendez received hearty approval for his ferocity, relieved by a slight hint of disapprobation for his scant and tardy humanity. "Tell him," said Philip, "that as to those he has killed, he has done well, and as to those he has saved, they shall be sent to the galleys."

This massacre of Frenchmen by Spaniards was perpetrated in a season of peace between the two governments. It was clearly an insult to France, inasmuch as the Huguenot expeditions had been undertaken with the royal commission. But the court of Catherine de' Medici was not likely to call

Philip II. to account for anything he might take it into his head to do. Redress was not far off, but it came in a most unexpected way and at the hands of a private gentleman.

Dominique de Gourgues was a Gascon of noble birth, who had won high distinction in the Italian wars. It is not clear whether he was Catholic or Protestant, but he bore a grudge against the Spaniards, by whom he had once been taken prisoner and made to work in the galleys. He made up his mind to avenge the fate of his fellow-countrymen; it should be an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. So he sold his family estate and borrowed money besides, and fitted up three small ships and enlisted about 200 men. In August, 1567, he sailed to the Guinea coast, armed with a royal commission to kidnap negroes. After an autumn and winter of random cruising he crossed the ocean, and it was when approaching Cuba that he first revealed to his followers his purpose. Little persuasion was required. With eager enthusiasm they turned their prows toward the Land of Easter, and soon came to anchor a few miles to the north of the Spanish fort. The Indians were overjoyed at their arrival. At first they had admired Menendez for his craft and the thoroughness with which he disposed of his enemies. But they had since found ample cause to regret their change of neighbours. On the arrival of Gourgues they flocked to his standard in such numbers that he undertook at once to surprise and overwhelm the Spanish garrison of 400 men. The march was conducted with secrecy and despatch.

The Spaniards, not dreaming that there could be such a thing as a Frenchman within three thousand miles of Florida, had grown careless about their watch, and were completely surprised. At mid-day, just as they had finished their dinner, the French and Indians came swarming upon them from all points of the compass. A wild panic ensued, the works were carried and the defenders slaughtered. Of the whole Spanish force not a man escaped the sword, save some fifteen or twenty whom Gourgues reserved for a more ignominious fate, and to point a moral to this ferocious tale. At the capture of Fort Caroline, it is said that Menendez hanged several of his prisoners to trees near by, and nailed above them a board with the inscription, — “Not as to Frenchmen, *Quid pro quo.* but as to Lutherans.” Gourgues now led his fifteen or twenty surviving captives to these same trees, and after reading them a severe lecture hanged them all, and nailed above them the inscription, — “Not as to Spaniards, but as to liars and murderers.” The fort was then totally demolished, so that not a beam or a stone was left in place. And so, having done his work in a thorough and business-like way, the redoubtable avenger of blood set sail for France.

In the matter of repartee it cannot be denied that Gourgues was successful. The retort would have had still more point if Menendez had been one of the hanged. But — unfortunately for the requirements of poetic justice — the principal liar and murderer was then in Spain, whence he returned a couple of years later, to rebuild his fort and go on converting the Indians.

These sanguinary events were doubtless of real historic importance. Unpromising as was the beginning of the Florida colony, it was no more so than the earliest attempts to settle Canada and Louisiana. In the brief glimpses that we get of Ribaut we can discern the outlines of a steadfast character that would have been likely to persevere until a solid result had been accomplished. So Menendez seems to have thought when he wrote to the king that by killing this man he believed himself to have dealt a heavier blow to France than if he had beaten an army. No doubt the affair of Matanzas removed what might have become an additional and serious obstacle in the way of the English, when France and England came to struggle for the mastery over North America.¹

As for Spain herself, owing to causes presently to be mentioned, she had about reached the limit of her work in the discovery and conquest of America. For the brief remainder of our story we have to deal chiefly with Frenchmen on land and with Englishmen on sea. The work of demonstrating the character of the continental mass of North

¹ The story of the Huguenots in Florida is superbly told by Francis Parkman, in his *Pioneers of France in the New World*, Boston, 1865. The chief primary sources are Ribaut's *Whole and True Discovery of Terra Florida*, englished and reprinted by Hakluyt in 1582; Basanier, *L'histoire notable de la Floride*, Paris, 1586; Challeux, *Discours de l'histoire de la Floride*, Dieppe, 1566; *La reprinse de la Floride par le Cappitaine Gourgues*, printed in the collection of Ternaux-Compans; the Spanish chaplain Mendoza's narrative, contained in the same collection; and the MS. letters of Menendez to Philip II., preserved in the archives of Seville and first made public by Mr. Parkman.

America and its internal configuration was mostly done by Frenchmen. The expeditions of Soto and Coronado had made a goodly beginning, but as they were not followed up they did not yield so much increase of geo-

Knowledge of
North Amer-
ican geogra-
phy about
1580.

graphical knowledge as one might suppose. Two interesting maps made in England early in the last quarter of the sixteenth century represent respectively the wet and dry styles of interpreting the facts as they looked to cartographers at that time. The map dedicated to Sir Philip Sidney by Michael Lok, and published in Hakluyt's "Divers Voyages" in 1582,¹ retains the "Sea of Verrazano," but gives enough continent to include the journeys of Soto and Coronado. In one respect it is interesting as showing just about the extent of North America that was known in 1582, ninety years after the first crossing of the Atlantic by Columbus. The reader will observe that the imaginary islands of Brazil and St. Brandon have not disappeared, but are shifted in position, while the Frislanda of the Zeno narrative appears to the south of Greenland. A conspicuous feature is the large island of Norombega (equivalent to New England with Acadia), separated from the mainland by what is apparently the Hudson river figured as a strait communicating with the St. Lawrence.²

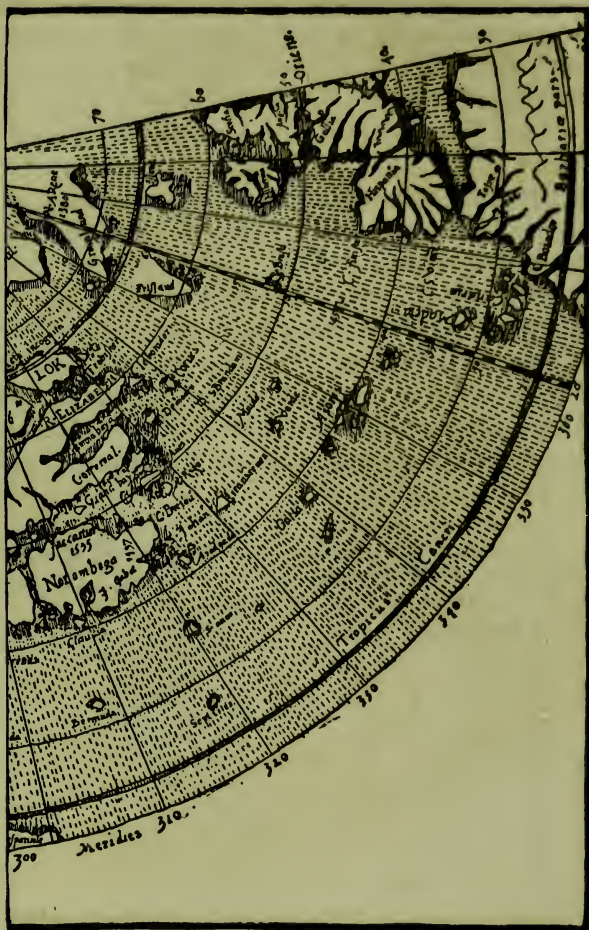
Beyond the limits of the known land, and in the

¹ The copy here given is photographed from the reduced copy in Winsor, *Narr. and Crit. Hist.*, iv. 44.

² It was very commonly believed at that time that the river discovered by Verrazano and afterward to be named for Hudson was such a strait.

ILLVSTRI VIRO, DOMINO PHILIPPO SIDNEO
MICHAEL LOK CIVIS LONDINENSIS
HANC CHARTAM DEDICABAT: 1662.

Map of the Americas (North America) showing the coastline, major rivers, and geographical features. The map is titled "ILLVSTRI VIRO, DOMINO PHILIPPO SIDNEO MICHAEL LOK CIVIS LONDINENSIS HANC CHARTAM DEDICABAT: 1662." The map includes labels for "CIVILIAN", "GALICIA", "FLORIDA", and "Bahama". The map is oriented with North at the top, indicated by a compass rose. The map shows the coastline of North America, including the Gulf of Mexico and the Atlantic Ocean. The map is a historical map, likely a reproduction of a map by Willem Blaeuw, 1662.



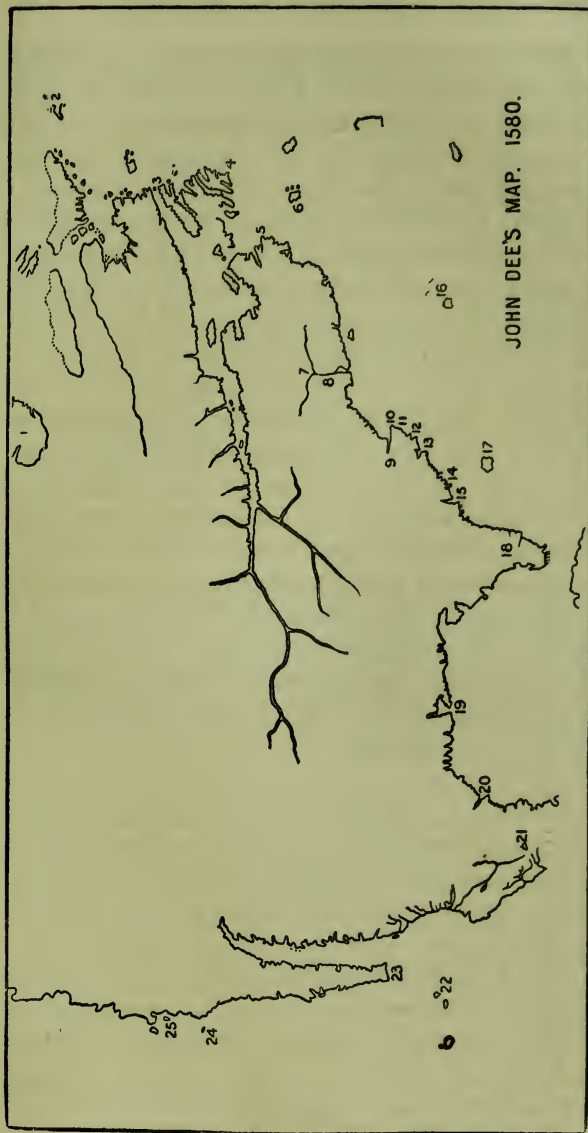
regions which therefore might be either sea or land for aught that Michael Lok could tell, his map places a hypothetical ocean. On the map presented to Queen Elizabeth in 1580 by Dr. John Dee, and now preserved in the British Museum, it is just the other way.¹ Beyond the limits reached by Coronado and Soto and Cartier, this map indicates a vast stretch of unvisited continent, and in its general outline it seems to come nearer to an adequate conception of the dimensions of North America than any of its predecessors.² It is noticeable, too, that although this is a "dry" map there is no indication of a connection between America and Asia. The western hemisphere was emerging in men's minds as a distinct and integral whole. Though people generally were not as yet enlightened to this extent,³ there were many navigators and geographers who were.

¹ The sketch here given is taken from Winsor (iv. 98) after Dr. Kohl's copy in his Washington Collection.

² The legends on Dee's map are as follows : —

- | | |
|-------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Estotiland. | 14. C. de S. Roman. |
| 2. Drogeo. | 15. C. de Sta Hellena. |
| 3. Belisle. | 16. La Bermuda. |
| 4. C. de Raso. | 17. La Emperada. |
| 5. C. de Bryton. | 18. Terra Florida. |
| 6. S. Brandan. | 19. Rio de Spirito Santo. |
| 7. Norombega. | 20. Rio de Palmas. |
| 8. R. de Gamas. | 21. Mexico. |
| 9. R. de San Antonio. | 22. S. Thoma. |
| 10. C. de Arenas. | 23. C. California. |
| 11. C. de St. Iago. | 24. Ys de Cedri. |
| 12. C. de S. John. | 25. Y del reparo. |
| 13. C. de terra falgar. | |

³ Thomas Morton, of Merrymount, in his *New English Canaan*, Amsterdam, 1637, writes of New England, "what part of this mane continent may be thought to border upon the Country of the Tartars, it is yet unknowne."



The most striking difference between Dr. Dee's map and that of Louis Joliet, to which we shall presently invite the reader's attention, is in the knowledge respecting the St. Lawrence and Mississippi rivers. Dee fails to give the information obtained by Soto's expedition. He interprets the St. Lawrence correctly as a river and not a strait, as many were still inclined to regard it. But this interpretation was purely hypothetical, and included no suspicion of the existence of the Great Lakes, for in 1580 no one had as yet gone above the site of Montreal. The exploration of the St. Lawrence and Mississippi valleys, with the determination of their relations to each other, was the most important inland work that was done in the course of American discovery. It was done by a succession of great Frenchmen, among whose names those of Champlain and La Salle are the most illustrious; and it was a result of the general system upon which French colonization in America, so different from English colonization, was conducted.

Work of the
great French
explorers.

It was not until the wars of religion in France had been brought to an end by Henry IV. that the French succeeded in planting a colony in America. About that time they had begun to feel an interest in the fur trade, the existence of which had been disclosed through transactions with Indians on the coast, and sundry attempts were made at founding a permanent colony. This was at length effected through the persistent energy and self-sacrificing devotion of Samuel de Cham-

Samuel de
Champlain.

plain, who made a settlement at Quebec in 1608 and became the founder of Canada. Champlain was one of the most remarkable Frenchmen of his day, — a beautiful character, devout and high-minded, brave and tender. Like Columbus and Magellan, like Livingstone in our own time, he had the scientific temperament. He was a good naturalist, and has left us the best descriptions we have of the Indians as they appeared before they had been affected by contact with white men. Champlain explored our northeastern coast quite carefully, and gave to many places the names by which they are still known.¹ He was the first white man to sail on the beautiful lake which now bears his name, and he pushed his explorations so far inland as to discover lakes Ontario and Huron.

It was the peculiar features of French policy in colonization that led to this long stride into the interior of the continent. Those features were developed during the lifetime of Champlain and largely under the influence of his romantic personality. The quaint alliance of missionary and merchant, the black-robed Jesuit and the dealer in peltries; the attempt to reproduce in this uncongenial soil the institutions of a feudalism already doomed in the Old World; the policy of fraternization with the Indians and participation in their everlasting quarrels; the policy of far-reaching exploration and the occupation of vast areas of territory by means of well-chosen military posts; all these features, which

Features of
French coloni-
zation.

¹ As, for example, Mount Desert, which retains a vestige of its old French pronunciation in accenting the final syllable.

give to early Canadian history such fascinating interest,¹ were by no means accidental. They were parts of a deliberate system originating chiefly with Champlain, and representing the romantic notions of empire that were a natural outgrowth of the state of French society in the days of Henry IV. For Champlain to succeed at all, it became necessary for him to accept the alliance of the Jesuits, although his own sympathies were with the national party in France rather than with the Spanish and ultramontane policy of the followers of Loyola. As another condition of success he deemed it necessary to secure the friendship of the Algonquin tribes in the valley of the St. Lawrence, and with this end in view he aided them in defeating the Mohawks near Ticonderoga in July, 1609. The result was that permanent alliance of the Five Nations, first with the Dutch settlers in the valley of the Hudson and afterward with the English, which is one of the great cardinal facts of American history down to 1763. The deadly hostility of the strongest Indian power upon the continent was a feature of the situation with

Causes which
drew the
French into
the interior.

¹ It is full of romantic incident, and abounds in instructive material for the philosophical student of history. It has been fortunate in finding such a narrator as Mr. Francis Parkman, who is not only one of the most picturesque historians since the days of Herodotus, but likewise an investigator of the highest order for thoroughness and accuracy. The presence of a sound political philosophy, moreover, is felt in all his works. The reader who wishes to pursue the subject of French exploration in North America should begin with Mr. Parkman's *Pioneers of France*, *Jesuits in North America*, and *La Salle*. A great mass of bibliographical information may be found in Winsor, *Narr. and Crit. Hist.*, vol. iv. chaps. iii.-vi.

which the French had to reckon from the very start, and the consequences were for them in many ways disastrous.¹ But what here concerns us is chiefly the effect of these circumstances in drawing the French at once into the interior of the continent. The hostile Iroquois could and sometimes did effectually cut off the fur trade between the northwestern forests and the lower St. Lawrence; so that for commercial reasons it was necessary for the French to occupy positions flanking the Long House, and this military necessity soon carried their operations forward as far as Lake Huron. As religion and commerce went hand in hand, it was there that those heroic Jesuits, Brébeuf and Lalemant, did their noble work and suffered their frightful martyrdom; and it was in the destruction of this Huron mission that the Iroquois dealt their first staggering blow against the French power in America.

Somewhat later, when it became apparent that at sundry centres between the seashore and the Alleghany mountains a formidable English power was growing up, French schemes involving military control of the interior of the continent assumed still larger dimensions, and a far-reaching work of exploration was undertaken by that man of iron, if ever there was one, Robert de La Salle. As Champlain had laid the foundations of Canada and led the way to the

¹ For example, it was the Iroquois who in 1689 defeated the scheme of Louis XIV. for capturing New York and securing to the French the valley of the Hudson. The success of that scheme might have changed the whole current of American history and prevented the formation of our Federal Union.

Great Lakes, so La Salle completed the discovery of the Mississippi and carried the empire of France in theory from the crest of the Alleghanies to that of the unvisited Rocky mountains. In the long interval since 1542 the work of Soto and Coronado had almost lapsed into oblivion. Of the few who remembered their names there were fewer who could have told you where they went or what they did, so that the work of the French explorers from Canada had all the characteristics of novelty. In 1639 Jean Nicolle reached the Wisconsin river, and heard of a great water beyond, which he supposed must be the Pacific ocean, but which was really the Mississippi river. In the following years Jesuit missionaries penetrated as far as Lake Superior, and settlements were made at Sault Sainte Marie and Michillimackinac. In 1669 La Salle made his first western journey, hoping somewhere or somehow to find a key to the solution of the problem of a northwest passage. In the course of this expedition he discovered the Ohio river and perhaps also the Illinois. La Salle's feudal domain of Saint Sulpice, near Montreal, bears to this day the name of La Chine (China), which is said to have been applied to it in derision of this fruitless attempt to find the Pacific and the way to Cathay.¹ By this time the French had heard much about the Mississippi, but so far from recognizing its identity with the Rio de Espiritu Santo of the Spaniards, they were inclined to regard it as flowing into the Pacific, or into the "Vermilion Sea," as they called the narrow gulf between Mexico and Old Califor-

¹ Parkman's *La Salle*, p. 21.

nia. In 1673 this view was practically refuted by the priest Marquette and the fur trader Joliet, who reached the Mississippi by way of the Wisconsin, and sailed down the great river as far as the mouth of the Arkansas.

Marquette and
Joliet.

La Salle now undertook to explore the Mississippi to its mouth, and prepare for the establishment of such military posts as would effectually confirm the authority of Louis XIV. throughout the heart of the continent, and permanently check the northward advance of New Spain and the westward progress of the English colonies. La Salle was a man of cold and haughty demeanour, and had made many enemies by the uncompromising way in which he pushed his schemes. There was a widespread fear that their success might result in a gigantic commercial monopoly. For these and other reasons he drew upon himself the enmity of both fur traders and Jesuits; and, as so often happens with men of vast projects, he had but little ready money. But he found a powerful friend in the viceroy Count Frontenac, and like that picturesque and masterful personage he had rare skill in managing Indians. At length, in 1679, after countless vexations, a vessel was built and launched on the Niagara river, a small party of thirty or forty men were gathered together, and La Salle, having just recovered from a treacherous dose of poison, embarked on his great enterprise. His departure was clouded by the news that his impatient creditors had laid hands upon his Canadian estates, but, nothing daunted, he pushed on through the lakes Erie and Huron, and after many disasters reached

the southern extremity of Lake Michigan. The vessel was now sent back with half the party to Niagara, carrying furs to appease the creditors and purchase additional supplies for the remainder of the journey, while La Salle with his diminished company pushed on to the Illinois, where a fort was built and appropriately named Fort Crève-cœur. It was indeed at a heart-breaking moment that it was finished, for so much time had elapsed since the departure of their little ship that all had come to despair of her return. No word ever came from her. Either she foundered on the way, or perhaps her crew may have deserted and scuttled her, carrying off her goods to trade with on their own account.

After a winter of misery, in March, 1680, La Salle started to walk to Montreal. Leaving Fort Crève-cœur and its little garrison under the command of the brave Henri de Tonty, a lieutenant who could always be trusted, he set out, with four Frenchmen and one Mohegan guide; and these six men fought their way eastward through the wilderness, now floundering through melting snow, now bivouacking in clothes stiff with frost, now stopping to make a bark canoe, now leaping across streams on floating ice-cakes, like the runaway slave-girl in "Uncle Tom's Cabin;" in such plight did they make their way across Michigan and Ontario to the little log-fortress at Niagara Falls. All but La Salle had given out on reaching Lake Erie, and the five sick men were ferried across by him in a canoe. Thus because of the sustaining power of wide-ranging

Fort Crève-cœur.

A thousand miles in the wilderness.

thoughts and a lofty purpose, the gentleman reared in luxury and trained at college surpassed in endurance the Indian and the hunters inured to the forest. He had need of all this sustaining power, for at Niagara he learned that a ship from France, freighted for him with a cargo worth 20,000 livres, had been wrecked and totally lost in the St. Lawrence. Nothing daunted by this blow he took three fresh men, and completed his march of a thousand miles to Montreal.

There he collected supplies and reinforcements and had returned as far as Fort Frontenac, at the lower end of Lake Ontario, when further woful tidings greeted him. A message from the fort so well named "Heartbreak" arrived in July. The garrison had mutinied and pulled that blockhouse to pieces, and made their way back through Michigan. Recruiting their ranks with other worthless freebooters, they had plundered the station at Niagara, and their canoes were now cruising on Lake Ontario in the hope of crown-

Defeat of the
mutineers.

ing their work with the murder of La Salle. These wretches, however, fell into their own pit. The indomitable commander's canoes were soon swarming on the lake, and he was not long in overtaking and capturing the mutineers, whom he sent in chains to the viceroy. La Salle now kept on his way to the Illinois river, intending to rebuild his fort and hoping to rescue Tonty with the few faithful followers who had survived the mutiny. That little party had found shelter among the Illinois Indians; but during the summer of 1680 the great village of the Illinois was sacked by the

Iroquois, and the hard-pressed Frenchmen retreated up the western shore of Lake Michigan Sack of the Illinois town. as far as Green Bay. When La Salle reached the Illinois he found nothing but the horrible vestiges of fiery torments and cannibal feasts. Without delay he set to work to secure the friendship and alliance of the western tribes, on the basis of their common enmity to the Iroquois. After thus spending the winter to good purpose, he set out again for Canada, in May, 1681, to arrange his affairs and obtain fresh resources. At the outlet of Lake Michigan he fell in with his friend Tonty, and together they paddled their canoes a thousand miles, and so came to Fort Frontenac.

The enemies of the great explorer had grown merry over his apparent discomfiture, but his stubborn courage at length vanquished the adverse fates, and on the next venture things went smoothly. In the autumn he started with a fleet of canoes, passed up the lakes from Ontario to the head of Michigan, crossed the narrow portage from the Chicago river to the Illinois, Descent of the Mississippi, 1682. and thence coming out upon the Mississippi glided down to its mouth. On

the 9th of April, 1682, the fleurs-de-lis were duly planted, and all the country drained by the great river and its tributaries, a country vaster than La Salle imagined, was declared to be the property of the king of France, and named for him Louisiana.

Returning up the Mississippi after this triumph, La Salle established a small fortified post on the Illinois river, which he called St. Louis. Leaving

Tonty in command there, he lost no time in returning to France for means to complete his far-reaching scheme. A colony was to be founded at or near the mouth of the Mississippi, and a line of military posts was to connect it with Canada. La Salle was well received by the king, and a fine expedition was fitted out, but everything was ruined by the incompetence or ill fortune of the naval commander, Beaujeu. The intention was to sail directly to the mouth of the Mississippi, but the pilots missed it and passed beyond ; some of the ships were wrecked on the coast of Texas ; the captain, beset by foul weather and pirates, disappeared with the rest, and was seen no more ; and two years of misery followed. At last, in March, 1687, La Salle started on foot in search of the Mississippi, hoping to ascend it and find succour at Tonty's fort ; but he had scarcely set out with this forlorn hope when two or three mutinous wretches skulked in ambush and shot him dead.

La Salle's last expedition, 1687.

These explorations of Joliet, Marquette, and La Salle opened up the centre of the continent, and in the map dedicated by Joliet to Count Frontenac, in 1673,¹ we see a marked advance be-

¹ The sketch here given is reduced from the sketch in Winsor, iv. 208, after the coloured facsimile accompanying Gravier's *Étude sur une carte inconnue*, Paris, 1879. There is another coloured facsimile in the *Magazine of American History*, vol. ix. p. 273, in connection with the excellent bibliographical articles by Mr. Appleton Griffin, of the Boston Public Library, on the discovery of the Mississippi, pp. 190-199, 273-280. This is the earliest map of the Mississippi valley that is based upon real knowledge. The legends are as follows : —

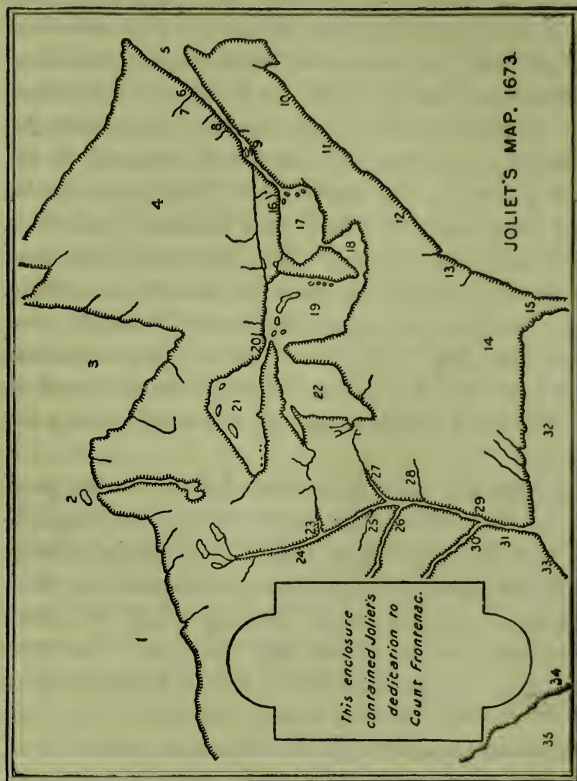
yond Dr. Dee's map of 1580. The known part of the continent of North America represented has come to be very large, but Joliet has no suspicion of the huge dimensions of the portion west of the Mississippi, and his style of theorizing is oceanic in so far as he fills up the unknown spaces with water rather than land. A freezing ocean usurps the place of northwestern British America, and Hudson Bay appears as an open gulf in this ocean. From this great inland sea, forever memorable for Henry Hudson's wild and tragic fate, and from the shores of Lake Superior, rival lines of fur trade were presently to carry the knowledge and influence of the white men still farther into the unknown West. About the time that La

Hennepin in
the Minnesota
country.

Salle was starting from Fort Crèvecoeur for Montreal, the Recollet friar, Louis de Hennepin, with two companions, set out from the same point with La Salle's directions

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| 1. Mer Glaciale. | 22. Lac des Illinois ou Missihiganin. |
| 2. Les sauvages habitent cette isle. | 23. Riviere Miskonsing. |
| 3. Baye d'Hudson. | 24. Riviere de Buade. |
| 4. Labrador. | 25. Paoutet, Maha, Atontauka, Illinois, Peouaria, 300 cabanes, 180 canots de bois de 50 pieds de long. |
| 5. Le fleuve de St. Laurent. | 26. Minongio, Pani, Ouchagé, Kansa, Missouri. |
| 6. Tadoussac. | 27. Riviere de la Divine ou l'Outrelaize. |
| 7. Le Saguenay. | 28. Riv. Ouabouskigou [i. e. Ohio]. |
| 8. Quebec. | 29. Akansea sauvages. |
| 9. Montroyal. | 30. Riviere Basire. |
| 10. Acadie. | 31. Tapensa sauvages. |
| 11. Baston [i. e. Boston]. | 32. Le Sein de Mexique. |
| 12. Nouvelle Suède. | 33. Le Mexique. |
| 13. La Virginie. | 34. La Nouvelle Granade. |
| 14. La Floride. | 35. Mer Vermeille, ou est la Californie, par ou on peut aller au Perou, au Japon, et à la Chine. |
| 15. Cap de la Floride. | |
| 16. Fort de Frontenac. | |
| 17. Lac Frontenac ou Ontario. | |
| 18. Lac Erie. | |
| 19. Lac Huron. | |
| 20. Le Sault Ste Marie. | |
| 21. Lac Supérieur. | |

to explore the Illinois river to its mouth. The little party were captured by Sioux Indians and carried off into the Minnesota country as far as



the falls of St. Anthony and beyond. Hennepin's pocket compass was regarded by these redskins as potent medicine, so that he was adopted by an old chief and held in high esteem. After many romantic adventures he found his way back to

Montreal, and indeed to Paris, where in 1683 he published a narrative of his experiences.¹ What he had done and suffered entitled him to a fair meed of fame, but in 1697, after La Salle had been ten years dead, and after the silly friar had passed into the service of England, he published another account in which he declared that before his capture by the Sioux he had descended the Mississippi river to its mouth and returned to the spot where he was captured.² The impudent lie was very easily exposed, and Father Hennepin's good fame was ruined. His genuine adventures, however, in which the descriptions can be verified, are none the less interesting to the historian; and from that time forth the French began to become familiar with the Lake Superior country, and to extend their alliances among the northwestern Indians.

About the same time a rival claim to the profits of the fur trade was set up by the English. It was the time when Charles II. was so lavish with his grants of American territories and their produce, without much heeding what or where they were, or to whom they belonged. In 1670 he granted to his cousin Prince Rupert
The Hudson Bay Company. and several other noblemen "the sole trade and commerce of all those seas, straits, bays,

¹ Hennepin, *Description de la Louisiane, nouvellement découverte*, Paris, 1683.

² Hennepin, *Nouvelle découverte d'un très grand pays situé dans l'Amérique, entre le Nouveau Mexique et la Mer Glaciale*, Utrecht, 1697 [dedicated to King William III.]. It has the earliest known engraved plate showing Niagara Falls, and a fine map containing results of explorations north of Lake Superior.

rivers, lakes, creeks, and sounds lying within the entrance of Hudson's Straits, with all the lands, countries, and territories upon the coasts and confines" of the same. This was the beginning of the Hudson Bay Company, and from that day until lately the vast and vaguely defined country which has been the scene of its operations has been known as "Rupert's Land." From that day to this it has been a huge "preserve for fur-bearing animals and for Indians who might hunt and trap them," a natural home for beavers, "otters, martens, musk-rats, and all the other species of amphibious creatures, with countless herds of buffaloes, moose, bears, deer, foxes, and wolves." In the time of which we are treating, these beasts had freely multiplied, "the aborigines killing only enough of them for their clothing and subsistence till the greed of traffic threatened their complete extirpation."¹ Upon the shores of Hudson Bay the agents of the company set up fortified trading stations and dealt with the tribes in the interior. These proceedings aroused the jealous wrath of the French, and furnished occasions for scrimmages in the wilderness and diplomatic wrangling at Westminster and Versailles. More than once in those overbearing days of Louis XIV. the English forts were knocked to pieces by war parties from Canada; but after the treaty of Utrecht this sort of thing became less common.

In the great war which that treaty of Utrecht ended, a brave young lieutenant, named Pierre

¹ See the admirable description of Rupert's Land by Dr. George Ellis, in Winsor, *Narr. and Crit. Hist.*, viii. 12.

Gaultier de Varennes, was wounded and left for dead on the field of Malplaquet, but recovered and lived to play a part in American history.

La Vérendrye.

He was a native of Three Rivers in Canada, and returned thither after the war, assuming for some reason the name of La Vérendrye, by which he has since been known. About 1728 La Vérendrye, being in command of a fort to the north of Lake Superior, was led by Indian reports to believe that the western ocean could be reached by journeys in canoes and on foot from that point. He was empowered to make the experiment at his own expense and risk, and was promised a monopoly of the fur trade in the countries he should discover. This arrangement set all the traders against him, and the problem assumed very much the same form as that with which La Salle had struggled. Nine years were consumed in preliminary work, in the course of which a wide territory was explored and a chain of forts erected from the Lake of the Woods to the mouth of the river Saskatchewan. From this region La Vérendrye made his way to the Mandan villages on the Missouri; and thence his two sons, taking up the work while he was temporarily disabled, succeeded in reaching the Bighorn range of the Rocky mountains on New Year's day, 1743. At this point, marvelling at the interminable extent of the continent and believing that they must at last be near the Pacific, though they were scarcely within a thousand miles of it, they felt obliged to turn back. Another expedition was contemplated, but

French discovery of the Rocky mountains, 1743.

by this time so many jealousies had been aroused that the remaining energies of the family La Vérendrye were frittered away. The Hudson Bay Company incited the Indians of the Saskatchewan region to hostilities against the French; and it was not long before all their romantic schemes were swallowed up in the English conquest of Canada.¹

The crossing of the continent was not completed until the beginning of the nineteenth century. After President Jefferson's purchase of the Louisiana territory from France had carried the western frontier of the United States up to the crests of the Rocky mountains, the question as to what power belonged the Oregon territory beyond remained undecided. It is not necessary to encumber our narrative with a statement of this complicated question.²

Discovery of
the Columbia
river, 1792.

It is enough to observe that in 1792 Captain Robert Gray, in the ship *Columbia*, of Boston, in the course of a voyage around the world, ascended for some distance the magnificent river to which he gave the name of his vessel. It was only fourteen years since that part of the North American coast had been mapped out by the famous Captain Cook, but neither he nor Vancouver, who was on that coast in the same year with Gray, discovered the Columbia river. Gray was unquestionably the first white man to enter it and to recognize it as

¹ In writing this paragraph I am under obligations to Mr. Parkman's paper on "The Discovery of the Rocky Mountains," *Atlantic Monthly*, June, 1888.

² For a statement of it, see Hubert Bancroft's *Northwest Coast*, vol. i.; Barrows's *Oregon*; Vancouver's *Voyage of Discovery*, London, 1798; Winsor, *Narr. and Crit. Hist.*, vii. 555-562.

an immense river and not a mere arm of the sea ; and upon the strength of this discovery the United States laid claim to the area drained by the Columbia. To support this claim by the further exploration of the valley, and possibly also to determine by inspection of the country what bearings, if any, the purchase of Louisiana might have upon the question, Captains Meriwether Lewis and William Clark¹ were sent out, with thirty-two men, upon the same enterprise that had been attempted by La Vérendrye and his sons. Lewis and Clark, like the Frenchmen, took their final start from one of the Mandan villages. From April 7 till August 11, 1806, they worked up the Missouri river and its Jefferson fork in boats and canoes, and then made their way through the mountains to the headwaters of the Columbia, down which they sailed to its mouth, and came out upon the Pacific on the 7th of November, after a journey of nearly 4,000 miles from the confluence of the Mississippi with the Missouri. The progress across the continent, begun by Champlain, was thus completed, two hundred years later, by Lewis and Clark.

First crossing
of the conti-
nent, 1806.

The final proof of the separation of North America from Asia by Vitus Bering was an incident in the general history of arctic exploration. When the new continent from Patagonia to Labrador came to be recognized as a barrier in the way to the Indies, the search for a northwest passage

¹ He was brother to George Rogers Clark, conqueror of the Northwest Territory.

necessarily became restricted to the arctic regions, and attempts were also made to find a northeast passage around Siberia into the Pacific. This work was begun by the English and Dutch, at about the time when Spanish activity in discovery and colonization was coming to a standstill. There is much meaning in the simultaneous expeditions of Drake and Frobisher, just at the time of Queen Elizabeth's alliance with the revolted Netherlands. In the reign of Elizabeth's grandfather England had for a moment laid a hand upon North America; she now went far toward encompassing it, and in the voyage of Drake, as in that of Cabot, a note of prophecy was sounded. In the years 1577-80 Drake passed the strait of Magellan, followed the coast northward as far as some point in northern California or southern Oregon, and took formal possession of that region, calling it New Albion. Thence he crossed the Pacific

Search for a
Northwest
Passage.

Drake and
Frobisher.

directly to the Moluccas, a much shorter transit than that of Magellan, and thence returned to England by way of the Cape of Good Hope. This was the second circumnavigation of the earth. Its effect upon the geographical knowledge of North America was to sustain the continental theory indicated upon Dr. Dee's map of 1580.¹ About the same time, in 1576-78, Sir Martin Frobisher in three

¹ See Drake's *World Encompassed*, ed. Vaux, London, 1854 (Hakluyt Soc.). There is a story that a Greek sailor, Apostolos Valerianos, who had served in the Spanish marine under the name of Juan de la Fuca, came after Drake in 1592, and discovered the strait which bears that name. See Peschel, *Geschichte der Erdkunde*, bd. i. p. 273.

voyages entered the strait which bears his name and that which is called after Hudson, in search of a passage to Cathay.¹

The second attempt in these arctic waters was made by that scientific sailor, John Davis, who in
Davis and
Barentz. 1585-87 penetrated as far as latitude
 72° 12' and discovered the Cumberland

islands.² Attention was at the same time paid to the ocean between Greenland and Norway, both by the Muscovy Company in London, of which Dr. Dee was now one of the official advisers, and by Dutch navigators, under the impulse and guidance of the eminent Flemish merchant, Balthasar Moucheron. In 1594-96 William Barentz discovered Spitzbergen and thoroughly explored Nova Zembla, but found little promise of a route to Cathay in that direction.³ Then came Henry Hudson, grandson of one of the founders of the Muscovy Company. In 1607 and 1608 he made two voyages in the service of that company. In the first he tried to penetrate between Greenland

Henry
Hudson. and Spitzbergen and strike boldly across
 the North Pole; in the second he tried to pass between Spitzbergen and Nova Zembla. His third voyage was made in 1609, in that famous little eighty-ton craft the Half-Moon, and in the service of the Dutch East India Company.

¹ See Frobisher's *Three Voyages*, ed. Collinson, London, 1867 (Hakluyt Soc.).

² See Davis's *Voyages and Works on Navigation*, ed. A. H. Markham, London, 1880 (Hakluyt Soc.).

³ See Motley's *United Netherlands*, vol. iii. pp. 552-576; Gerrit de Veer, *Three Voyages to the Northeast*, ed. Koolemans Beynen, London, 1876 (Hakluyt Soc.).

He had with him some letters which his friend Captain John Smith had sent him from Virginia, in which allusion was made to the great river which, as we now know, had already been visited by Verrazano and Gomez, and probably also by sporadic French traders, who may have ascended it as far as the mouth of the Mohawk in quest of peltries.¹ It seemed to Smith, from what he had heard, that this water might be a strait leading into a western ocean. When Hudson reached Nova Zembla, he found the sea as full of ice as before, and thereupon, in excess of his instructions, he faced about and stood across the Atlantic, in the hope of finding his northwest passage at about the fortieth parallel. His exploration of the river which has since borne his name served to turn the attention of Dutch merchants to the fur trade, and thus led to the settlement of New Netherland, while at the same time it proved that no passage to Cathay was to be found in that direction. In the following year Hudson had returned to the English service, and in a further search for the

¹ See Weise's *Discoveries of America*, New York, 1884, chap. xi. Mr. Weise suggests that the name *Terre de Norumbega* may be a corruption of *Terre d'Anormée Berge*, i. e. "Land of the Grand Scarp," from the escarpment of palisaded cliffs which is the most striking feature as one passes by the upper part of Manhattan island. See the name Anorumbega on Mercator's map, 1541, above, p. 153. Thevet (1556) says that *Norombègue* is a name given to the Grand River by the French. Laudonnière (1564) has it *Norumberge*. The more common opinion is that the Norumbega river was the Penobscot, and that the name is a presumed Indian word *Aranbega*, but this is doubtful. In the loose nomenclature of the time the name Norumbega may have been applied now to the Penobscot and now to the Hudson, as it was sometimes to the whole country between them.

passage he found his way into that vast inland sea which is at once "his tomb and his monument." In midsummer of 1611 he was turned adrift in an open boat by his mutinous crew and abandoned on that gloomy waste of waters.¹

The result of this memorable career, embraced as it was within four short years, was to dispel illusory hopes in many directions, and limit the search to the only really available route — the one which Hudson would probably have tried next — by way of the strait discovered by Davis. This route was resumed in 1615 by William Baffin, who left his name upon a long stretch of sea beyond that explored by Davis, and reached the 78th parallel, discovering Jones and Lancaster sounds, as well as the sound which commemorates the name of the merchant prince, Sir Thomas Smith, first governor of the East India Company.² Nothing more was accomplished in this direction until Sir John Ross, in 1818, opened the modern era of arctic exploration.³

¹ See Asher's *Henry Hudson the Navigator*, London, 1860 (Hakluyt Soc.); Read's *Historical Inquiry concerning Henry Hudson*, Albany, 1866; De Costa, *Sailing Directions of Henry Hudson*, Albany, 1869. Portuguese sailors seem to have entered the bay called after Hudson as early as 1558-69; see Asher, p. cxliv.

² See Markham's *Voyages of William Baffin*, London, 1881 (Hakluyt Soc.). For a brief account of Sir Thomas Smith (or Smythe) see Fox-Bourne, *English Merchants*, vol. i. pp. 315-317; there is a portrait of him in Winsor, *Narr. and Crit. Hist.*, vol. iii. p. 94.

³ Just as this final chapter goes to press I have received the sheets of Winsor's *Christopher Columbus*, a few days in advance of publication. On page 651 he cites the unsuccessful voyages of Luke Fox and Thomas James in Hudson's Bay in 1631 as checking further efforts in this direction.

One consequence of these voyages was to abolish the notion of a connection between Greenland and Europe, and to establish the outlines of the northeastern coast of North America, in such wise as to suggest, in the minds of the few northern scholars who knew anything about the Vinland traditions, the correct association of the idea of Vinland with the idea of America. As I have already observed, there was nothing to suggest any such association of ideas until the period of the four great navigators, Frobisher, Davis, Hudson, and Baffin; at that period we begin to catch glimpses of it, dimly and dubiously in 1570 with Stephanus, briefly but distinctly in 1610 with Arngrim Jonsson;¹ and at last in 1705 a general interest in the subject was awakened by Torfæus.

Effect upon
the conception
of Vinland.

While Frobisher and his successors were groping for a northwest passage to Cathay, the Russians were steadily advancing by overland conquests toward that land of promise. Between 1560 and 1580 the Cossack Irmak crossed the Ural mountains and conquered Siberia as far as the Obi river. Thence, urged on by the quest for gold and peltries, and the need for subduing unruly neighbours, the Russian arms pressed eastward, until in 1706 the peninsula of Kamtchatka was added to their domains.

Russian con-
quest of
Siberia.

At that period the northern Pacific and the wild coasts on either side of it were still a region of mystery. On the American side nothing was known north of Drake's "New Albion," on the

¹ See above, vol. i. p. 394.

Asiatic side nothing north of Japan. Some still believed that the two continents were joined together ; others held that they were separated by a strait, for how else could there be a Northwest Passage ?¹ Peter the Great wished to settle such questions and ascertain the metes and bounds of his empire, and in 1724, shortly before his death, he appointed the Danish captain Vitus Bering² to

Vitus Bering. the command of an expedition for exploring the eastern shores of the Kamtchatka and Chukchi peninsulas, to see if any strait could be found there. In one respect this was an enterprise of unparalleled difficulty, for the starting point of the navigation was some 5,000 miles distant from St. Petersburg, and more than half this distance was through a howling wilderness. Many were the obstacles that had to be surmounted before Bering could build and launch his stout little ship, the *Gabriel*, in the early summer of 1728. The point from which he started was not far from Cape Kamtchatka. He bore to the northward, keeping in sight of the coast, and on the 11th of August sighted on the starboard the island which he named St. Lawrence. On the 14th he

¹ The wish was father to the thought, and the so-called strait of Anian appears on many old maps, beginning with Mercator's chart of 1569. Some maps have also a gulf of Anian ; possibly from a misunderstanding of the gulf of An-nan (i. e. Tongking) mentioned in a passage interpolated into Marco Polo, bk. iii. chap. iv. See Lauridsen's *Vitus Bering*, p. 202. But this explanation is doubtful.

² Until lately the Danish name has appeared in English with a German and incorrect spelling, as *Behring*. The best book on this navigator is Lauridsen's *Vitus Bering*, Chicago, 1889, translated by Professor Julius Olson, of the University of Wisconsin.

left East Cape receding astern, and seemed to have open sea on both sides of him, for he did not descry the American coast

Discovery of
Bering strait,
1728.

about forty miles distant. After a day's sail into the Arctic ocean, he turned and passed back through the strait without seeing the opposite coast. He believed, and rightly as it happened, that he had found an end to Asia, and completed the proof of the existence of a continuous sea-coast from the mouth of the Lena river to Kamtchatka. A gigantic enterprise was now set on foot. The Siberian coast was to be charted from Nova Zembla to the Lena; Japan was to be reached from the north; and the western shore of America was to be discovered and explored. As to the latter part, with which we are here concerned, a Russian officer, Gvosdjeff, sailed into Bering's strait in 1732 and saw the American coast.¹ Before more extensive work could be done it was necessary to build the town of Petropavlovsk, in Kamtchatka, as a base of operations. From that point the two ships St. Peter and St. Paul, under Bering's command, set sail in the summer of 1741. At first they took a southeasterly course in order to find an imaginary "Gamaland," which was by a few theorizers supposed to lie in mid-Pacific, east of Japan. Thus they missed the Aleutian islands. After reaching latitude 46°, not far from the 180th meridian, they gave up the search for this figment of fancy, and steering northeasterly at length reached the Alaska coast under the volcano St. Elias. On the more

Bering's discovery of
Alaska, 1741.

¹ Lauridsen, *op. cit.* p. 130.

direct return voyage, which took them through the Aleutian archipelago, they encountered fierce storms, with the added horrors of famine and scurvy. When they came to the island known as Bering's, not more than a hundred miles from the Kamtchatka coast, they were cast ashore, and there the gallant Bering succumbed to scurvy and ague, and died in his sixtieth year. Such were the expeditions that completed the discovery of North America as a distinct and separate continent, and gave to Russia for a time an American territory as spacious as France and Germany together.

The work of Vitus Bering may be regarded as the natural conclusion of that long chapter in the history of discovery which began with Ponce de Leon's first visit to the Land of Easter. When Bering and Gvosdjeff saw the two sides of the strait that separates America from Asia, quite enough had been done to reveal the general outlines and to suggest the broadness of the former continent, although many years were still to elapse before anybody crossed it from ocean to ocean. The discovery of the whole length of the Mississippi, with its voluminous tributaries, indicating an extensive drainage area to the west of that river, the information gained in the course of trade by the Hudson Bay Company, the stretch of arctic coast explored by Baffin, and finally the discovery of Bering strait, furnished points enough to give one a fairly correct idea of North America as a distinct and integral mass of land, even though there was still

The discovery of America was a gradual development.

room for error, here and there, with regard to its dimensions. Our story impresses upon us quite forcibly the fact that the work of discovery has been a gradual and orderly development. Such must necessarily be the case. Facts newly presented to the mind must be assimilated to the pre-existing stock of knowledge, and in the process an extensive destruction of wrong or inadequate conceptions takes place; and this sort of thing takes a great deal of time, especially since the new facts can be obtained only by long voyages in unknown seas, or tramps through the trackless wilderness, at great cost of life and treasure. The Discovery of America may be regarded in one sense as a unique event, but it must likewise be regarded as a long and multifarious process. The unique event was the crossing of the Sea of Darkness in 1492. It established a true and permanent contact between the eastern and western halves of our planet, and brought together the two streams of human life that had flowed in separate channels ever since the Glacial period. No ingenuity of argument can take from Columbus the glory of an achievement which has, and can have, no parallel in the whole career of mankind. It was a thing that could be done but once. On the other hand, when we regard the Discovery as a long and multifarious process, it is only by a decision more or less arbitrary that we can say when it began or when it ended. It emerged from a complex group of facts and theories, and was accomplished through a multitude of enterprises in all quarters of the globe. We cannot understand its beginnings without pay-

ing due heed to the speculations of Claudius Ptolemy at Alexandria in the second century of our era, and to the wanderings of Rubruquis in Tartary in the thirteenth; nor can we describe its consummation without recalling to memory the motives and results of cruises in the Malay archipelago and journeys through the snows of Siberia. For our general purpose, however, it is enough to observe that a period of two hundred years just about carries us from Dias and Columbus to Joliet and La Salle, or from Ponce de Leon to Vitus Bering. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries carried far toward completion the work of 1492.

In our brief survey of the work of discovery during those two centuries, one striking contrast forces itself upon our attention. We began this chapter in company with Spaniards; toward its close our comrades have been chiefly Frenchmen and Englishmen. In the days of Cortes and Magellan, the Spain of Charles V. was the foremost power in the world; in the days of La Salle the France of Louis XIV. was the foremost power. The last years of Louis XIV. saw Spain, far sunken from her old preëminence, furnishing the bone of contention between France and England in the first of the two great struggles which won for England the foremost place. As regards America, it may be observed that from 1492 until about 1570 the exploring and colonizing activity of Spain was immense, insomuch that upon the southern half of

Cessation of
Spanish ex-
ploring and
colonizing ac-
tivity after
about 1570.

the New World it has left its stamp forever, so that to-day the Spanish is one of the few imperial languages. After 1570 this wonderful manifestation of Spanish energy practically ceased, and this is a fact of supreme importance in the history of North America. But for this abrupt cessation of Spanish energy the English settlements at Jamestown and Plymouth would have been in quite as dangerous a position as Ribaut's colony in Florida. It is worth while, therefore, to notice one or two eloquent items of chronology. In 1492 Spain was relieved of a task which had long absorbed all her vital energies, the work of freeing her soil from the dominion of the Moors. In 1570 she was entering upon another task which not only absorbed but wellnigh exhausted her energies, the attempt to suppress Protestantism in Europe and to subdue the revolted Netherlands. When she had once put her hand to this work, Spain had no surplus vitality left for extending her sway in America. She was scarcely able to maintain the ground she had already occupied; she could not defend the West Indies against the buccaneers, and the end of the seventeenth century saw Hispaniola in the hands of France and Jamaica in the hands of England, and various lesser Antilles seized by the one or the other of these two powers.

It is furthermore worthy of notice that there was a clear causal connection between the task which Spain finished in 1492 and that upon which she entered a little before 1570. The transition from the crusade against the infidel to the crusade against the heretic was easy, and in her case almost

inevitable. The effects of the long Moorish war upon Spanish character and Spanish policy have often been pointed out. The Spaniard of the sixteenth century was what eight hundred years of terrible warfare, for home and for religion; had made him. During a period as long as that which in English history has now elapsed since the death of William the Conqueror, the Mussulman invaders held sway in some part of the Spanish peninsula; yet they never succeeded in entering into any sort of political union with the native inhabitants. From first to last they behaved as invaders and were treated as invaders, their career in this respect forming a curious and instructive parallel to that of the Turks in eastern Europe, though as a people the Arab-Moors were of far higher type than Turks. Entering Spain in 711, they soon conquered the whole peninsula. From this deluge about a century later the Christian kingdom of Leon began to emerge. By the middle of the eleventh century the Spaniards had regained half their country, and the Mahometans were placed upon the defensive. By the middle of the thirteenth, the Moorish dominion became restricted to the kingdom of Granada; and finally we have seen Granada subdued in the same year in which Columbus discovered America. During all this period, from 711 to 1492, the years when warfare was not going on along the fluctuating frontier between Spaniard and Moor were few indeed. Among the Spaniards industrial life was almost destroyed. The way to obtain the necessaries of life was to make raids

The long
struggle be-
tween Span-
iards and
Moors.

upon the Mussulmans, and the career of the bandit became glorified. In the central and southern provinces, on the other hand, the Moors developed a remarkable industrial civilization, surpassing anything to be seen in Christian Europe except in Constantinople down to the end of the twelfth century. As the frontier moved gradually southward, with the advance of the Christians, the industrious Mussulman population in large part became converted to Christianity, and went on cultivating the arts of life. These converts, who were known as Moriscoes, were always despised and ill-treated by the Spaniards. Such a state of things continued to throw discredit upon labour. Spinning and weaving and tilling the soil were regarded as fit occupations for unclean Moriscoes. It was the prerogative of a Christian Spaniard to appropriate the fruits of other people's labour; and we have seen this feeling at work in many details of the Spanish conquest in America. Not that it was at all peculiar to Spaniards. Devices for appropriating the fruits of other people's labour have in all countries been multifarious, from tomahawks to tariffs. But the circumstances of Spanish history were such as to cast upon labour a stigma especially strong by associating it with men of alien race and faith who were scarcely regarded as possessing any rights that Christians should feel bound to respect.

This prolonged warfare had other effects. It combined the features of a crusade with those of a fight for the recovery of one's patrimony. The general effect of the great Crusades, which brought

*Its effect in
throwing dis-
credit upon
labour.*

different Christian peoples in contact with each other and opened their eyes to many excellent features in eastern civilization, was an education for Europe. From these liberalizing experiences the Spanish peninsula was in great measure cut off. It was absorbed in its own private crusade, and there was altogether too much of it. While other nations occasionally turned their attention to wars of religion, Spain had no attention left for anything else. It was one long agony through five-and-twenty generations, until the intruder was ousted. Thus, although Visigothic institutions smacked of sturdy freedom as much as those of any other Germanic people, nevertheless this unceasing militancy trained the Spaniards for despotism. For the same reason the church acquired more overweening power than anywhere else in Europe. To the mediæval Spaniard orthodoxy was practically synonymous with patriotism, while heresy like manual industry was a mark of the hated race. Unity in faith came to be regarded as an object to secure which no sacrifices whatever could be deemed too great. When, therefore, the Protestant Reformation came in the sixteenth century, its ideas and its methods were less intelligible to Spaniards than to any other European people. By nature this land of mediæval ideas was thus marked out as the chief antagonist of the Reformation; and when it was attempted to extend to the Netherlands the odious measures that were endured in Spain, the ensuing revolt called forth all the power that Philip II. could summon to suppress it. To overthrow the rebellious heretic seemed as

Its effect in
strengthening
religious
bigotry.

sacred a duty as to expel the Moslem. A crusade against heresy, headed by Pope Innocent III. and Philip Augustus of France, had once been crowned with success, and one of the most grewsome chapters in human history had been written in blood at Beziers and Carcassonne. Such a crusade did Spain attempt against the Netherlands, until England, too, was drawn into the lists against her, and the crisis was reached in 1588, in the destruction of the Invincible Armada, a military overthrow scarcely paralleled until the wreck of Napoleon's army in Russia.

Spain's crusade in the Netherlands.

The defeat of the Armada was such a blow to Spain's prestige that France, England, and the Netherlands soon proceeded to their work of colonization in North America with little fear of hindrance. But while France and England paid much attention to America, the Dutch paid comparatively little, and for a reason that is closely linked with our general subject. The attention of the Dutch was chiefly concentrated upon the East Indies. After the Turks had cut off the Mediterranean

Effects of oceanic discovery in developing Dutch trade.

routes, and Portugal had gained control of the Asiatic trade, the great Netherland towns began to have relatively fewer overland dealings with Venice and Genoa, and more and more maritime dealings with Lisbon. The change favoured the Dutch more than the Flemish provinces, by reason of the greater length of the Dutch coast line. By dint of marvellous energy and skill the coast of Holland and Zealand became virtually one vast seaport, a

distributing centre for the whole north of Europe, and during the sixteenth century the volume of Dutch merchant shipping was rapidly and steadily increased. Now it happened in 1578 that the King Sebastian of Portugal, who has furnished a theme for so many romantic legends, led an army into Morocco, and there was killed in battle. Philip II. forthwith declared the throne of Portugal vacant, and in 1580 seized the kingdom for himself. This act abruptly cut off the East India trade of the Dutch, and at the same time it made all the Portuguese colonies dependencies of Spain, and thus left the Dutch free to attack them wherever they saw fit. Borgia's meridian was thus at last wiped out.

Conquest of
the Portu-
guese Indies
by the Dutch.

After 1588 the Dutch proceeded at once to invade the colonial world of Portugal. They soon established themselves in Java and Sumatra, and by 1607 they had gained complete possession of the Molucca islands. This was the beginning of the empire which Holland possesses to-day in the East Indies, with a rich territory four times as large as France, a population of 30,000,000, and a lucrative trade. From this blow Portugal never recovered. She regained her independence in 1640, but has never since shown the buoyant vigour that made the days of Prince Henry the Navigator and of Albuquerque so remarkable.

The overthrow of the Invincible Armada thus marks the downfall of maritime power for both the rival nations of the Iberian peninsula. It would be wrong, however, to attribute such an enduring calamity to a single great naval defeat, or even to

the exhausting effects of the unsuccessful war against the Dutch. A healthy nation quickly repairs the damage wrought by a military catastrophe, but Spain was not in a healthy condition. The overmastering desire to put down heresy, to expel the “accursed thing,” possessed her. The struggle with the Moors had brought this semi-suicidal craving to a height which it never reached with any other European nation. In the present narrative we have had occasion to observe that as soon as Ferdinand and Isabella had finished the conquest of Granada, they tried to add to the completeness of their triumph by driving all Jews from their homes and seizing their goods. In times past, the conquered Moors had in great numbers embraced Christianity, but it was with difficulty that the Spaniards tolerated the presence of these Moriscoes in their country.¹ In 1568, the Moriscoes, goaded by ill treatment, rose in rebellion among the mountains of Granada, and it took three years of obstinate fighting to bring them to terms. Their defeat was so crushing that they ceased to be dangerous politically, but their orthodoxy was gravely suspected. In 1602 the archbishop of Valencia proposed that

Disastrous
results of per-
secuting here-
tics.

¹ On the rich and important subject of the Moors in Spain, see Al Makkari, *History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain*, transl. by Gayangos, London, 1840, 2 vols. in quarto; Conde, *Dominacion de los Arabes en España*, Paris, 1840 (to be read with caution); Coppée, *Conquest of Spain by the Arab-Moors*, Boston, 1881, 2 vols.; Reinaud, *Invasions des Sarrazins en France*, Paris, 1836; Chénier, *Recherches historiques sur les Maures*, Paris, 1787, 3 vols.; Circourt, *Histoire des Mores Mudejares et des Morisques*, Paris, 1846, 3 vols.; see, also, with reference to the Jews, Grætz, *Les Juifs d'Espagne*, Paris, 1872.

all the Moriscoes in the kingdom, except children under seven years of age, should be driven into exile, that Spain might no longer be polluted by the merest suspicion of unbelief. The archbishop of Toledo, primate of Spain, wished to banish the children also. It is said that Friar Bleda, the Dominican, urged that all Moriscoes, even to the new-born babe, should be massacred, since it was impossible to tell whether they were Christians at heart or not, and it might safely be left to God to select his own. The views of the primate prevailed, and in 1609, about a million people were turned out of doors and hustled off to Morocco. These proceedings involved an amount of murder that has been estimated as about equivalent to the massacre of St. Bartholomew. Of the unfortunate people who reached Africa, thousands perished of hunger, or were slain by robbers, or kidnapped into slavery.

Expulsion of
the Moriscoes
from Spain,
1609.

These Moriscoes, thus driven from the land by ecclesiastical bigotry, joined with hatred of their race, were the most skilful labourers Spain possessed. By their expulsion the manufacture of silk and paper was destroyed, the cultivation of sugar, rice, and cotton came to an end, the wool-trade stopped short, and irrigation of the soil was discontinued. The disturbance of industry, and the consequent distress, were so far-reaching that in the course of the next seventy years the population of Madrid was decreased by one half, and that of Seville by three quarters; whole villages were deserted, large portions of arable land went out of cultivation, and

Terrible
consequences.

brigandage gained a foothold which it has kept almost down to the present day. The economic ruin of Spain may be said to date from the expulsion of the Moriscoes. Yet no deed in history was ever done with clearer conscience or more unanimous self-approval on the part of the perpetrators than this. Even the high-minded and gentle-hearted Cervantes applauded it, while Davila characterized it as the crowning glory of Spanish history. This approval was the outcome of a feeling so deeply ingrained in the Spanish mind that we sometimes see curious remnants of it to-day, even among Spaniards of much liberality and enlightenment. Thus the eminent historian Lafuente, writing in 1856, freely confessed that the destruction of Moorish industries was economically a disaster of the first magnitude; but after all, he says, just think what an "immense advantage" it was to establish "religious unity" throughout the nation and get rid of differences in opinion.¹ Just so: to insure that from the Pyrenees to Gibraltar all people should appear to think exactly alike about questions confessedly unfathomable by human intelligence, — this seemed to the Spaniards an end of such supreme importance as to justify the destruction of a hundred thousand lives and the overthrow of some of the chief industries of the kingdom. It was a terrible delusion, but perhaps we are not entitled to blame the Spaniards too severely when we reflect that even among ourselves, in spite of all the liberalizing influences to which the English race

¹ Lafuente, *Historia de España*, Madrid, 1856, tom. xvii. p. 340.

has so long been subjected, the lesson is only just beginning to be learned that variety in religious beliefs is not an evil, but a positive benefit to a civilized community, whereas uniformity in belief should be dreaded as tending toward Chinese narrowness and stagnation. This is the true lesson of Protestantism, and it is through this lesson, however imperfectly learned, that Protestantism has done so much to save the world from torpor and paralysis.

Uniformity in religious beliefs is not desirable.

But it was not merely in the expulsion of the Moriscoes that the Spanish policy of enforcing uniformity was suicidal. Indeed, the disastrous effects which we are wont to attribute to that striking catastrophe cannot really be explained without taking into account another and still more potent cause. The deadly Inquisition, working steadily and quietly year after year while fourteen generations lived and died, wrought an amount of disaster which it is difficult for the mind to grasp. Some

Dreadful work of the Inquisition.

eight or ten years ago an excavation happened to be made in the Plaza Cruz del Quemadero in Madrid, the scene of the most terrible part of Victor Hugo's "Torquemada." Just below the surface the workmen came upon a thick stratum of black earth 150 feet long. On further digging it was found to consist chiefly of calcined human bones, with here and there a fragment of burnt clothing. Dark layers varying from three to nine inches in thickness were here and there interrupted by very thin strata of clay or sand.¹ A singular kind of geological problem

¹ This deposit was examined by men of science and antiqua-

was thus suggested: how many men and women must have died in excruciating torments in order to build up that infernal deposit? During the fifteen years when Torquemada was inquisitor-general, from 1483 to 1498, about 10,000 persons were burned alive. The rate was probably not much diminished during the sixteenth century, and the practice was kept up until late in the eighteenth; the last burning of a heretic was in 1781. From the outset the germs of Protestantism were steadily and completely extirpated. We sometimes hear it said that persecution cannot kill a good cause, but that "the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church." This is apt to be true because it is seldom that sufficient unanimity of public opinion is enlisted in support of persecution to make it thorough. It was not true in Spain. The Inquisition there did suppress free thought most effectively. It was a machine for winnowing out and destroying all such individuals as surpassed the average in quickness of wit, earnestness of purpose, and strength of character, in so far as to entertain opinions of their own and boldly declare them. The more closely people approached an elevated standard of intel-

It was a device
for insuring
the survival of
the unfittest.

ligence and moral courage, the more likely was the machine to reach them. It worked with such fiendish efficiency that it was next to impossible for such people to escape it; they were strangled

rians, and the newspapers began publishing the details of their investigations, whereat the clergy grew uneasy, and persuaded the government to have the whole stratum dug away and removed as quickly as possible, so as to avoid further scandal. See *The Nation*, New York, 1883, vol. xxxvi. p. 470.

and burned by tens of thousands, and as the inevitable result, the average character of the Spanish people was lowered.¹ The brightest and boldest were cut off in their early prime, while duller and weaker ones were spared to propagate the race; until the Spaniard of the eighteenth century was a much less intelligent and less enterprising person than the Spaniard of the sixteenth. Such damage is not easily repaired; the competition among nations is so constant and so keen, that when a people have once clearly lost their hold upon the foremost position they are not likely to regain it.

Under this blighting rule of the Inquisition the general atmosphere of thought in Spain remained mediæval. Ideas and methods which other nations were devising, to meet the new exigencies of modern life, were denied admission to that unfortunate country. In manufactures, in commerce, in the control of the various sources of wealth, Spain was soon left behind by nations in which the popular intelligence was more flexibly wielded, and from which the minds hospitable toward new ideas had not been so carefully weeded out. It was not in

The Spanish policy of crushing out individualism resulted in universal stagnation.

¹ In this connection the reader should carefully study the admirable book lately published by our great historian of mediæval institutions, Henry Charles Lea, *Chapters from the Religious History of Spain*, Philadelphia, 1890. I have been especially struck with the chapter on the "Censorship of the Press," where the subject is treated with a prodigious wealth of learning. We are apt to sigh over popular ignorance even in these days of elaborate educational appliances and untrammelled freedom of discussion. Under the rule of the Spanish Inquisition all the zeal and energy which we now devote to developing and stimulating popular intelligence was devoted to stunting and repressing it.

religious matters only, but in all the affairs of life, that the dull and rigid conservatism was shown. Amid the general stagnation and lack of enterprise, and with the universal discredit of labour, the stream of gold and silver poured into Spain from the New World did more harm than good, inasmuch as its chief effect was to diminish the purchasing power of the precious metals. Economically, perhaps, the whole situation might be summed up by saying that Spanish expenditure was not productive but unproductive, and not simply unproductive but destructive. It was devoted to checking the activities of the human mind, to doing precisely the reverse of what we are trying to do in these days with books and newspapers, schools and lectures, copyrights and patents.

It is profoundly significant that the people who have acquired by far the greater part of the maritime empire to which Spain once aspired, and who have supplanted her in the best part of the territories to which she once felt entitled in virtue of Borgia's bulls, should be the people who have differed most widely from the Spaniards in their attitude toward novelties of doctrine and independence of thought. The policy of England, in giving full play to individualism, has developed a type of national character unsurpassed for buoyancy. No class of people in England ever acquired such control of the whole society as the clergy acquired in Spain. In the worst days of English history attempts have been made to crush individuality of thought and to put a stop to the free discussion of

It has been the policy of England to give full scope to individualism.

religious and political questions. But such attempts have been feeble and sporadic; no such policy has ever prevailed. The history of religious persecution in England affords a most suggestive illustration. The burning of heretics began in 1401, and the last instance occurred in 1611. During that time the total number of executions for heresy was about 400. Of these about 300 occurred in the brief spasm of 1555-57 under Mary Tudor, daughter of a Spanish princess, and wife of the worst of Spain's persecuting monarchs. The total of 100 victims scattered through the rest of that period of two centuries makes a startling contrast to what was going on in other countries. As no type of character has thus been sedulously winnowed out by violent methods, neither has any set of people ever been expelled from England, like the Moriscoes from Spain or the Huguenots from France. On the contrary, ever since the days of the Plantagenets it has been a maxim of English law that whosoever among the hunted and oppressed of other realms should set his foot on the soil of Britain became forthwith free and entitled to all the protection that England's stout arm could afford. On that hospitable soil all types of character, all varieties of temperament, all shades of belief, have flourished side by side, and have interacted upon one another until there has been evolved a race of men in the highest degree original and enterprising, plastic and cosmopolitan. It is chiefly this circumstance, combined with their successful preservation of self-government, that has

That policy
has been the
chief cause of
the success of
English people
in founding
new nations.

won for men of English speech their imperial position in the modern world. When we contrast the elastic buoyancy of spirit in Shakespeare's England with the gloom and heaviness that were then creeping over Spain, we find nothing strange in the fact that the most populous and powerful nations of the New World speak English and not Spanish. It was the people of Great Britain that, with flexible and self-reliant intelligence, came to be foremost in devising methods adapted to the growth of an industrial civilization, leaving the Middle Ages far behind. Wherever, in any of the regions open to colonization, this race has come into competition with other European races, it has either vanquished or absorbed them, always proving its superior capacity. Sometimes the contest has assumed the form of strife between a civilization based upon wholesome private enterprise and a civilization based upon government patronage. Such was the form of the seventy years' conflict that came to a final decision upon the Heights of Abraham, and not the least interesting circumstance connected with the discovery of this broad continent is the fact that the struggle for the possession of it has revealed the superior vitality of institutions and methods that first came to maturity in England and now seem destined to shape the future of the world.

APPENDIX A.

TOSCANELLI'S LETTER TO COLUMBUS, WITH THE EN- CLOSED LETTER TO MARTINEZ.

THE Latin is the original text, for an account of which see above, vol. i. p. 356, note 3. The Italian is from the version in the *Vita dell' Ammiraglio*, concerning which M. Harrisse says that it is "très-inexact et interpolée." I have here italicised the portions of either text which do not occur in the other, so that the reader may judge for himself how far such a charge is justified.

A Cristoforo Colombo
Paolo fisico salute. Io veggo il nobile e gran desiderio tuo di voler passar là, dove nascono le spezerie, onde per risposta d' una tua lettera ti mando la copia d' un' altra lettera, che alquanti giorni fa io scrissi ad un mio amico, domestico del serenissimo re di Portogallo, avanti le guerre di Castiglia, in risposta d' un' altra, che per commissione di Sua Altezza egli mi scrisse sopra detto caso : e ti mando un' altra carta navigatoria, simile a quella ch' io mandai a lui, per la qual resteranno soddis-

fatte le tue dimande. La copia di quella mia lettera è questa.

Copia misa christofaro colonbo per paulum fisicum cum una carta navigacionis.

Ferdinando martini canonico vlixiponensi paulus phisicus salutem. a tua valitudine de gracia et familiaritate cum rege vestro genero[siss]imo [et] magnificentissimo principe iocundum mihi fuit intelligere. cum tecum alias locutus sum de breuiori via ad loca aromatum per maritimam navigacionem quam sit ea quam facitis per guineam, querit nunc S[erenissimus] rex a me quandam declaracionem ymo potius ad oculum ostensionem vt *etiam mediocriter doti* illam viam caperent et intelligerent. Ego autem quamvis cognoscam posse hoc ostendi per formam spericam ut est mundus tamen determinavi, pro faciliori intelligencia ac etiam pro faciliiori opera, ostendere, viam illam per quam carte navigacionis fiunt illud de-

A Fernando Martinez canonico di Lisbona Paolo fisico salute. Molto mi piacque intendere la domestichezza che tu hai col tuo sereniss. e magnificentiss. re, e quantunque volte io abbia ragionato del *brevisimo* cammino che è di qua all' *Indie*, dove nascono le spezerie, per la via del mare, il quale io tengo più breve di quel che voi fate per Guinea, tu mi dici che Sua Altezza vorrebbe ora da me alcuna dichiarazione, o dimostrazione, acciocchè si intenda e si possa prendere detto cammino. Laonde, come ch' io sappia di poter ciò mostrarle con la sfera in mano, e farle veder come sta il mondo; nondimeno ho deliberato per più facilità e per maggiore intelligenza dimostrar detto cammino per una carta simile a quelle che si fanno per navigare, e così

clarare. Mito ergo sue
Maiestati cartam manibus
meis factam in qua desig-
nantur

litora vestra et insule ex
quibus incipiat iter facere
verius occasum senper

et loca ad que debeatis
peruenire et quantum a
polo vel a linea equinotiali
debeatis declinare et per
quantum spacium siue per
quot miliaria debeatis per-
uenire ad loca fertilissima
omnium aromatum et ge-
marum, et non miremini si
voco occidentales partes
vbi sunt aromata cum com-
muniter dicantur orientales,

quia nauigantibus ad occi-
dentem senper ille partes
inueniuntur *per subterra-
neas nauigaciones*. Si enim
per terram et per supe-
riora itinera, ad orientem
senper reperientur¹ linee
ergo recte in longitudine

la mando a Sua Maestà,
fatta e disegnata di mia
mano : nella quale è dipinto
tutto il fine del ponente,
pigliando da Irlanda all'
austro insino al fin di
Guinea, con tutte le isole
che in tutto questo cam-
mino giacciono ; per fronte
alle quali dritto per ponen-
te *giace dipinto il princi-*
pio dell' Indie con le isole
e luoghi dove potete andare,
e quanto dal polo *artico* vi
potete discostare per la
linea equinoziale, e per
quanto spazio, cioè in quan-
te leghe potete giungere a
quei luoghi fertilissimi d'
ogni sorte di spezeria, e di
gemme e pietre preziose.
E non abbiate a maravi-
glia, se io chiamo Ponente
il paese ove nasce la spe-
zeria, la qual comunemente
dicesi che nasce in Le-
vanti ; perciocchè coloro,
che navigheranno al po-
nente, sempre troveranno
detti luoghi in ponente ; e
quelli, che anderanno per
terra al levante, sempre
troveranno detti luoghi in
levante. Le linee dritte,

¹ Read *reperientur*.

carte signate ostendunt distanciam ab orientem¹ versus occidentem, que autem transverse sunt, ostendunt spacia a meridie versus septentrionem. notauimus autem in carta diuersa loca ad que peruenire potestis pro maiori noticia nauigancium siue ventis vel casu aliquo alibi quam existimarent venirent; *partim*² autem ut ostendant incolis ipsos habere noticiam aliquam patrie illius, quod debet esse iocundum satis.

non considant³ autem in insulis nisi mercatores aserunt.⁴ ibi enim tanta copia nauigancium est cum mercimoniis ut in toto reliquo orbe non sint sicuti in vno portu nobilissimo vocato zaiton. aserunt enim cen-

che giacciono al lungo in detta carta, dimostrano la distanza che è dal ponente al levante; le altre, che sono per obliquo, dimostrano la distanza che è dalla tramontana al mezzogiorno. Ancora io dipinsi in detta carta molti luoghi nelle parte dell' *India* dove si potrebbe andare, avvenendo alcun caso di fortuna o di venti contrari, o qualunque altro caso, che non si aspettasse, che dovesse avvenire.

E appresso, per darvi piena informazione di tutti quei luoghi, i quali desiderate molto conoscere, sappiate, che in tutte quelle isole non abitano nè praticano altri che mercatanti; avvertendovi quivi essere così gran quantità di navi e di marinari con mercatanzie, come in ogni altra parte del mondo, specialmente in un porto

¹ Read *orientem*.

² Read *partim*.

³ Read *considerant*.

⁴ Perhaps meant for *asseritur*, "it is related." Columbus may have forgotten to finish the word. Or perhaps Toscanelli may have inadvertently used the active *asserit*, "he relates," meaning Marco Polo.

tum naues piperis magne in eo portu singulis annis deferri, sine aliis nauibus portantibus allia aromata. patria illa est populatissima *ditissima* multitudine provinciarum et regnorum et ciuitatum sine numero, sub vnoprincipe qui dicitur magnus Kan¹ quod nomen significat in latino rex regum, cuius sedes et residencia est vt plurimum in provincia Katay. antiqui sui desiderabant consorcium christianorum iam sunt .200. annis,¹ miscerunt² ad papam et postulabant plurimos dotos in fide vt illuminarentur; sed qui missi sunt, impediti in itinere redierunt. etiam

tempore Eugenii venit vnus ad eugenium qui de benivolentia magna erga christianos afirmabat et ego

nobilissimo, chiamato Zaiton, dove caricano e discaricano ogni anno cento navi grosse di pepe, oltre alle molte altre navi, che caricano altre spezerie. Questo paese è popolatissimo, e sono molte provincie e molti regni e città senza numero sotto il dominio di un principe chiamato il gran Cane, il qual nome vuol dire re de' re, la residenza del quale la maggior parte del tempo è nella provincia del Cataio. I suoi antecessori desiderarono molto aver pratica e amicizia con cristiani, e già dugento anni mandarono ambasciatori al sommo pontefice, supplicandolo che gli mandasse molti savij e dottori, che gl' insegnassero la nostra fede, ma per gl' impedimenti ch' ebbero detti ambasciatori, tornarono indietro senza arrivare a Roma. E ancora a papa Eugenio IV. venne uno ambasciatore, il quale gli raccontò la grande amicizia che quei principi e i

¹ Read *anni*.

² Read *miserunt*.

secum longo sermone locutus sum de multis, de magnitudine edificiorum regalium et de magnitudine fluuium¹ in latitudine et longitudine mirabili et de multitudine ciuitatum in ripis fluuium,¹ vt in vno flumine .200. circiter ciuitates sint constitute, et pontes marmorei magne latitudinis et longitudinis vndique colonpnis ornati. hec patria digna est vt per latinus queratur, non solum quia lucra ingencia ex ea capi posunt auri argenti gemarum omnis generis et aromatum que nunquam ad nos deferuntur, verum propter doctos viros philosophos et astrologos peritos et quibus ingeniis et artibus ita potens et magnifica prouincia gubernentur² ac etiam bella conducant. hec pro aliquantula satisfactione ad suam petitionem, quantum breuitas temporis dedit et occupationes mee conceperunt,³ paratus in futurum regie maiestati quan-

loro popoli hanno coi cristiani; e io parlai lungamente con lui di molte cose, e delle grandezze delle fabbriche regalè, e della grossezza de' fiumi in larghezza e in lunghezza, ed ei mi disse molte cose maravigliose della moltitudine delle città e luoghi che son fondati nelle rive loro; e che solamente in un fiume si trovava dugento città edificate con ponte di pietre di marmo, molto larghi e lunghi, adornati di molte colonne. Questo paese è degno tanto, quanto ogni altro, che si abbia trovato; e non solamente vi si può trovar grandissimo guadagno, e molte cose ricche; ma ancora oro, e argento, e pietre preziose, e di ogni sorte di spezieria in grande quantità, della quale mai non si porta in queste nostre parti. Ed è il vero, che molti uomini dotti, filosofi, e astrologi, e altri grandi savij in tutte le arti, e di grande ingegno governano quella gran pro-

¹ Read *fluminum*.

³ Read *concesserunt*.

² Read *gubernetur*.

tum volet latius satisfacere.
data florencie 25 iunii
1474.

A ciuitate vlixiponis per occidentem in directo sunt .26. spacia in carta signata quorum quodlibet habet miliaria .250. vsque ad nobilissim[am] et maximam ciuitatem quinsay. circuit enim centum miliaria et habet pontes decem et nomen eius sonat cita del cielo ciuitas celi et multa miranda de ea narrantur, de multitudine artificium et de redditibus. hoc spacium est fere tercia pars totius spere, que ciuitas est in prouincia mangi, siue vicina prouincie Katay

vincia, e ordinano le battaglie. || E questo¹ sia per sodisfazione delle vostre richieste, quanto la breuità del tempo, e le mie occupazioni mi hanno concesso. E così io resto prontissimo a soddisfare e servir sua altezza, compiutamente in tutto quello che mi comanderà. Da Fiorenza, ai 25 giugno dell' anno 1474. || Dalla città di Lisbona per dritto verso ponente sono in detta carta ventisei spazj, ciascun de' quali contien dugento e cinquanta miglia, fino alla nobilissima e gran città di Quisai, la quale gira cento miglia *che sono trentacinque leghe*; ove sono dieci ponti di pietra di marmore. Il nome di questa città significa Città del Cielo, della qual si narrano cose maravigliose intorno alla grandezza degli ingegni, e fabbriche, e rendite. Questo spazio è quasi la terza parte della sfera. Giace

¹ In the Italian arrangement this passage is transposed to the end of the letter, and the passage "Dalla città di Lisbona," etc. (which in the Latin arrangement forms a postscript) follows immediately after "battaglie."

in qua residencia terre
regia est. Sed ab insula
antilia vobis

nota ad insulam nobilissi-
mam cippangu sunt decem
spacia. est enim

illa insula fertilissima
aur[o] margaritis et gem-
mis, et auro solido coope-
riunt tenpla et domos re-
gias, itaque per ygnota

itineris non magna maris
spacia transeundum. mul-
ta fortasse essent aperitus¹
declaranda, sed diligens

considerator per hec pote-
rit ex se ipso reliqua pro-
spicere. vale dilectissime.

questa città nella prouincia
di Mango, vicina alla pro-
vincia del Cataio, nella
quale sta la maggior parte
del tempo il re. E dall'
isola di Antilia, che voi
chiamate di Sette Città,
della quale avete notizia,
fino alla nobilissima isola
di Cipango sono dieci spazj,
che fanno due mila e cin-
quecento miglia, cioè du-
gento e venticinque leghe;
la quale Isola è fertilissima
di oro, di perle, e di pietre
preziose. E sappiate, che
con piastre d' oro fino co-
prono i tempj e le case
regali. Di modo che, per
non esser conosciuto il cam-
mino, tutte queste cose si
ritrovano nascoste e co-
perte; e ad essa si può
andar sicuramente. Molte
altre cose si potrebbero
dire; ma, come io vi ho
già detto a bocca, e voi
siete prudente e di buon
giudicio, mi rendo certo
che non vi resta cosa al-
cuna da intendere: e però
non sarò più lungo.

¹ Read apertius.

THE Latin text of this letter is preserved in the handwriting of Columbus upon the fly-leaf of one of his books in the Colombina at Seville. See above, vol. i. p. 356, note 3. I here subjoin a specimen of the handwriting of Columbus, from a MS. in the Colombina, reproduced in Harris's *Notes on Columbus*.

6
 cosa le falta q sea en el polbre. de la gente ya darsela /
 o q señor con bueno, q dessta q haga la gente co q
 le sea a cargo. // de dia y de noche / y todos momentos
 le debrian las gentes dar gracias deuotissimas . . .
 y yo dize arriba q quaua mundo por cumplir de las pro-
 pias / y digo q son cosas grandes en el mundo, v
 digo q la final es q nro señor da prouida en ello. el
 predicar del euangelio en tantas tierras de la pava tpo
 a ca me lo dice.

APPENDIX B.

THE BULL *Inter Cetera.*

EXEMPLAR BVLLAE SEV DONATIONIS, AVTORITATE CVIVS, EPISCOPVS ROMANVS

Alexander eius nominis sextus, con-
cessit et donauit Castellæ regibus
et suis successoribus, regiones
et Insulas noui orbis in
Oceano occidentali His-
panorum nauigationi-
bus repertas.·.



ALEXANDER EPISCOPVS, seruus seruo-
rum Dei, Charissimo in Christo filio Fer-
dinando Regi, et Charissimæ in Christo
filiae Elizabeth Reginæ Castellæ, Legionis,
Aragonum, Siciliæ, et Granatæ, illustribus, salutem et
Apostolicam benedictionem.

Inter cætera Diuinæ maiestati beneplacita opera
et cordis nostri desiderabilia, illud profecto potissimum
existit vt fides catholica et Christiana religio nostris
præsertim temporibus exaltetur ac vbilibet ampliatur

APPENDIX B.

THE BULL *Inter Cetera.*

THE COPPIE OF THE BULL
OR DONATION, BY TH[E]AU-
TORITIE WHEREOF, POPE
Alexander the fyxte of that name,
gaue and graunted to the kynges of
Castyle and theyr successours the
Regions and Ilandes founde in
the Weste Ocean sea by
the nauigations of the
Spanyardes.



Alexander byshoppe, the seruante of the seruantes of God: To owre moste deare beloued sonne in Christ Kynge Ferdinande, And to owre deare beloued doughter in Chryfte Elyzabeth Queene of Castyle, Legion, Aragon, Sicilie, and Granata, most noble Princes, Grettyng and Apostolical benediction.

Amonge other woorkes acceptable to the diuine maiestie and accordynge to owre hartes desyre, this certainly is the chiefe, that the Catholyke fayth and Christian religion, specially in this owre tyme may in all places bee exalted, amplified, and enlarged, wherby

ac dilatetur, animarumque falus procuretur, ac barbaricæ nationes deprimantur et ad fidem ipsam reducantur. Vnde cum ad hanc facram Petri sedem Diuina fauente clementia (meritis licet imparibus) euocati fuerimus, cognoscentes vos tanquam veros catholicos reges et principes : quales semper fuisse nouimus, et a vobis præclare gesta, toti pene orbi notissima demonstrant, nedum id exoptare, sed omni conatu, studio et diligentia, nullis laboribus, nullis impensis, nullisque parcendo periculis, etiam proprium sanguinem effundendo efficere, ac omnem animum vestrum, omnesque conatus ad hoc iam dudum dedicasse, quemadmodum recuperatio regni Granatæ a tyrannide Saracenorum hodiernis temporibus per vos, cum tanta Diuini nominis gloria facta testatur. Digne ducimur non immerito, et debemus illa vobis etiam sponte, ac fauorabiliter concedere, per quæ huiusmodi sanctum ac laudabile ab immortali deo acceptum propositum, in dies feruentiori animo ad ipsius dei honorem et Imperij Christiani propagationem, profequi valeatis. Sane accepimus quod vos qui dudum animum proposueratis aliquas insulas et terras firmas remotas et incognitas, ac per alios hætenus non repertas, quærere et inuenire, vt illarum incolas et habitatores ad colendum Redemptorem nostrum et fidem catholicam profitendum reduceretis, hætenus in expugnatione et recuperatione ipsius regni Granatæ plurimum occupati, huiusmodi sanctum et laudabile propositum vestrum ad optatum finem perducere nequiuiistis : Sed tamen sicut Domino placuit, regno predicto recuperato, volentes desiderium vestrum adimplere, dilectum filium Christophorum Co-

the health of foules may be procured, and the Barbarous nations subdued and brought to the fayth. And therefore wheras by the fauoure of gods clemencie (although not with equall desertes) we are cauled to this holy seate of Peter, and vnderstandynge you to bee trewe Catholyke Princes as we haue euer knowen you, and as youre noble and woorthy factes haue declared in maner to the hole worlde in that with all your studie, diligence, and industrye, you haue spared no trauayles, charges, or perels, aduenturyng euen the shedynge of your owne bludde, with applyinge yowre hole myndes and endeuours here vnto, as your noble expeditions achyued in recoueryng the kyngdome of Granata from the tyrannie of the Sarracens in these our dayes, doo playnely declare your factes with so great glorye of the diuine name. For the whiche as we thinke you woorthy, so owght we of owre owne free wyl fauorably to graunt all thynges whereby you maye dayely with more feruent myndes to the honour of god and enlargynge the Christian empire, prosecute your deuoute and laudable purpose most acceptable to the immortall God. We are credably informed that wheras of late you were determyned to seeke and fyndecerteyne Ilandes and firme landes farre remote and vnknownen (and not heretofore found by any other) to th[e]intent to bringe th[e]inhabitauntes of the same to honoure owre redemer and to professe the catholyke fayth, you haue hetherto byn much occupied in th[e]expugnation and recouerie of the kyngedome of Granata, by reason whereof yowe coulde not brynge yowre sayde laudable purpose to th[e]ende desyred. Neuerthelesse as it hath pleased almyghty god, the foresayde kyngedome beinge recouered, wylling t[o]accomplyshe your sayde desyre, you haue, not without great laboure, perelles, and charges, appoynted owre welbeloued

lonum virum vtique dignum et plurimum commendatum ac tanto negotio aptum, cum nauigijs et hominibus ad fimilia inſtructis, non ſine maximis laboribus, ac periculis, et expenſis deſtinatis vt terras firmas et Inſulas remotas et incognitas, huiuſmodi per mare vbi hætenus nauigatum non fuerat, diligenter inquireret. Qui tandem (Diuino auxilio facta extrema diligentia in mari Oceano nauigantes) certas inſulas remotiſſimas et etiam terras firmas, quæ per alios hætenus repertæ non fuerant, inuenerunt. In quibus plurimæ gentes pacifice viuentes, et (vt aſſeritur) nudi incedentes, nec carnibus veſcentes, inhabitant: Et vt præfati nunciij veſtri poſſunt opinari, gentes ipſæ in Inſulis et terris prædictis habitantes credunt vnum deum creatorem in Cœlis eſſe, ac ad fidem catholicam amplexandum et bonis moribus imbuendum ſatis apti videntur: Spesque habetur, quod ſi erudirentur, nomen Saluatoris Domini noſtri Ieſu Chriſti in terris et inſulis prædictis facile induceretur. Ac præfatus Chriſtophorus in vna ex principalibus Inſulis prædictis, iam vnam turrim ſatis munitam, in qua certos Chriſtianos qui ſecum inerant, in cuſtodiam et vt alias Inſulas ac terras firmas remotas et incognitas inquirerent poſuit, conſtrui et ædificari fecit. In quibus quidem Inſulis et terris iam repertis, aurum, aromata, et aliæ quamplurimæ res præcioſæ diuerſi generis et diuerſæ qualitatis reperiuntur. Vnde omnibus diligenter, et præſertim fidei catholicæ exaltatione et dilatatione (prout decet Catholicos Reges et Principes) conſideratis, more progenitorum veſtrorum claræ memoriæ Regum, terras firmas et inſulas prædictas, illarumque incolas et habitatores, vobis diuina

fonne Christopher Colonus (a man certes wel commended as moſte worthy and apte for ſo great a matter) well furnyſhed with men and ſhippes and other neceſſaries, to ſeeke (by the ſea where hetherto no manne hath ſayled) ſuche firme landes and Ilandes farre remote and hitherto vnknown. Who (by gods helpe) makynge diligente ſearche in the Ocean ſea, haue founde certeyne remote Ilandes and firme landes whiche were not heretofore founde by any other. In the which (as is ſayde) many nations inhabite lyuynge peaceably and goynge naked, not accuſtomed to eate fleſhe. And as farre as yowre meſſengers can conjecture, the nations inhabitynge the foreſayde landes and Ilandes, beleue that there is one god creatoure in heauen : and ſeeme apte to be brought to th[e]imbracinge of the catholyke faythe and to be imbued with good maners : by reaſon whereof, we may hope that if they well be inſtructed, they may eaſely bee induced to receaue the name of owre ſauour Ieſu Chriſt. We are further aduertified that the forenamed Chriſtopher hathe nowe builded and erected a fortrefſe with good munition in one of the foreſayde principall Ilandes in the which he hath placed a garrifon of certeine of the Chriſtian men that wente thyther with him : aſwell to th[e]intent to defende the ſame, as alſo to ſearche other Ilandes and firme landes farre remote and yet vnknown. We alſo vnderſtande, that in theſe landes and Ilandes lately founde, is great plentie of golde and ſpices, with dyuers and many other precious thynges of fundry kyndes and qualities. Therefore al thinges diligently conſidered (eſpecially th[e]amplifyng and enlargyng of the catholike fayth, as it behoueth catholike Princes folowyng th[e]exemples of yowre noble progenitours of famous memorie) wheras yowe are determynd by the fauour of almighty god to ſub-

fauente clementia fubiicere et ad fidem Catholicam reducere propofuiftis.

Nos itaque huiufmodi veftrum fanctum et laudabile propofitum plurimum in Domino commendantes, ac cupientes vt illud ad debitum finem perducatur, et ipfum nomen Saluatoris noſtri in partibus illis inducatur, hortamur vos quamplurimum in Domino, et per facri lauacri fufceptionem, qua mandatis Apoſtolicis obligati eſtis, et per viſcera miſericordiæ Domini noſtri Ieſu Chriſti attente requirimus, vt cum expeditionem huiufmodi omnino proſequi et aſſumere prona mente orthodoxæ fidei zelo intendatis, populos in huiufmodi Infulis et terris degentes, ad Chriſtianam religionem fuſcipiendam inducere velitis et debeatis, nec pericula nec labores vlllo vnquam tempore vos deterreant, firma ſpe fiduciaque conceptis quod Deus omnipotens conatus veſtros foeliciter proſequetur. Et vt tanti negotij prouintiam Apoſtolicæ gratiæ largitate donati, liberius et audacius aſſumatis, motu proprio non ad veſtram vel alterius pro vobis ſuper hoc nobis oblata petitionis instantiam, ſed de noſtra mera liberalitate, et ex certa ſcientia, ac de Apoſtolicæ poteſtatis plenitudine, omnes Infulas et terras firmas inuentas et inueniendas, detectas et detegendas verſus Occidentem et Meridiem, fabricando et conſtruendo vnam lineam a polo Arctico, ſcilicet Septemtrione, ad polum Antarcticum, ſcilicet Meridiem ſiue terræ firmæ et infulæ inuentæ et inueniendæ ſint verſus Indiam aut verſus aliam quamcunque partem quæ linea diſtet a qualibet Infularum quæ vulgariter nuncupantur de los Azores et Cabo Verde centum leucis verſus Occidentem et Meridiem.

due and brynge to the catholyke fayth th[e]inhabitauntes of the foresayde landes and Ilandes.

Wee greatly commendynge this yowre godly and laudable purpose in owre lorde, and desirous to haue the same brought to a dewe ende, and the name of owre fauioure to be knowen in those partes, doo exhorte yowe in owre Lorde and by the receauynge of yowre holy baptisme wherby yowe are bounde to Apostolicall obedience, and earnestly require yowe by the bowels of mercy of owre Lorde Iesu Christ, that when yowe intende for the zeale of the Catholyke faythe to prosecute the sayde expedition to reduce the people of the foresayde landes and Ilandes to the Christian religion, yowe shall spare no labours at any tyme, or bee deterred with any perels, conceauynge firme hope and confidence that the omnipotent godde wyll gyue good succeffe to yowre godly attemptes. And that beinge autorysed by the priuilege of the Apostolycall grace, yowe may the more freely and bouldly take vpon yowe th[e]enterpryse of so greate a matter, we of owre owne motion, and not eyther at yowre request or at the instant petition of any other person, but of owre owne mere liberalitie and certeyne science, and by the fulnesse of Apostolycall power, doo gyue, graunt, and assigne to yowe, yowre heyres and succeffours, al the firme landes and Ilandes found or to be found, discouered or to be discouered toward the West and South, drawyng a line from the pole Artike to the pole Antartike (that is) from the north to the Southe: Conteynyng in this donation, what so euer firme landes or Ilandes are founde or to bee founde towarde *India*, or towarde any other parte what so euer it bee, beinge distant from, or without the foresayd lyne drawn a hundreth leaques towarde the Weste and South from any of the Ilandes which are commonly cauled *De los Azores* and *Cabo Verde*.

Itaque omnes Infulæ et terræ firmæ repertæ et reperiendæ, detectæ et detegendæ a præfata linea verſis Occidentem et Meridiem, quæ per alium Regem aut Principem Chriſtianum non fuerint actualiter poſſeſſæ vſque ad diem natiuitatis Domini noſtri Ieſu Chriſti proxime præteritum, a quo incipit annus præſens Milleſſimus Quadringentefſſimus Nonageſſimus tercius, quando fuerunt per nuncios et capitaneos veſtros inuentæ aliquæ prædictarum Inſularum, auctoritate omnipotentis Dei nobis in beato Petro conceſſa, ac vicariatus Ieſu Chriſti qua fungimur in terris, cum omnibus illarum dominijs, ciuitatibus, caſtris, locis, et villis, iuribuſque et iuriſdictionibus ac pertinentijs vniuerſis, vobis heredibuſque et ſucceſſoribus veſtris (Caſtellæ et Legionis regibus) in perpetuum tenore præſentium donamus concedimus, et assignamus: Voſque et hæredes ac ſucceſſores præfatos illarum Dominos, cum plena, libera, et omnimoda poteſtate, auctoritate, et iuriſdictione, facimus, conſtituimus, et deputamus. Decernentes nihilo minus per huiuſmodi donationem, conceſſionem, et assignationem noſtram, nullo Chriſtiano Principi qui actualiter præfatas Inſulas et terras firmas poſſederit vſque ad prædictum diem natiuitatis Domini noſtri Ieſu Chriſti ius quæſitum, ſublato intelligi poſſe aut auferri debere.

Et inſuper mandamus vobis in virtutæ ſanctæ obedienciæ (vt ſicut pollicemini et non dubitamus pro veſtra maxima deuotione et regia magnanimitate voſ eſſe facturos) ad terras firmas et Inſulas prædictas, viros probos et Deum timentes, doctos, peritos, et expertos, ad in-

All the Ilandes therfore and firme landes, founde and to be founde, discouered and to be discouered from the sayde lyne towarde the West and South, such as haue not actually bin heretofore possessed by any other Christian kynge or prynce vntyll the daye of the natiuitie of owre Lorde Iesu Chryste laste paste, from the which begynneth this present yeare beinge the yeare of owre Lorde. M. CCCC. lxxxiii. when so euer any such shalbe founde by your messingers and capytaines, Wee by the autoritie of almyghtie God graunted vnto vs in saynt Peter, and by the office which we beare on the earth in the steede of Iesu Christe, doo for euer by the tenoure of these presentes, gyue, graunte, assigne, vnto yowe, yowre heyres, and successoures (the kynges of Castyle and Legion) all those landes and Ilandes, with theyr dominions, territories, cities, castels, towres, places, and vyllages, with all the ryght, and iurisdiction therunto perteynyng: constitutyng, assignyng, and deputyng, yowe, yowre heyres, and successours the lordes thereof, with full and free poure, autoritie, and iurisdiction. Decreeinge neuerthelesse by this owre donation, graunt, and assignation, that from no Christian Prince whiche actually hath possessed the foresayde Ilandes and firme landes vnto the day of the natiuitie of owre lorde before sayde theyr ryght obteyned to bee vnderstoode hereby to be taken away, or that it owght to be taken away.

Furthermore wee commaunde yowe in the vertue of holy obedience (as yowe haue promysed, and as wee doubt not you wyll doo vppon' mere deuotion and princely magnanimitie) to sende to the sayde firme landes and Ilandes, honeste, vertuous, and lerned men, suche as feare God, and are able to instructe th[e]in-

struendum incolas et habitatores præfatos in fide Catholica et bonis moribus imbuendum, destinare debeatis, omnem debitam diligentiam in præmissis adhibentes.

Ac quibuscumque personis, cuiuscunque dignitatis, etiam imperialis et regalis status, gradus, ordinis vel conditionis, sub excommunicationis latæ sententiæ pœna quam eo ipso si contra fecerint incurrant, diffictius inhihemus ne ad Insulas et terras firmas inuentas et inueniendas, detectas et detegendas versus Occidentem et Meridiem, fabricando et construendo lineam a polo Arctico ad polum Antarcticum, siue terræ firmæ et Insulæ inuentæ et inueniendæ sint versus Indiam aut versus aliam quamcunque partem quæ linea distet a qualibet Insularum quæ vulgariter nuncupantur de los Azores et Cabo Verde centum leucis versus Occidentem et Meridiem vt præfertur, pro mercibus habendis vel quauis alia causa accedere præsumat absque vestra ac hæredum et successorum vestrorum prædictorum licentia speciali: Non obstantibus constitutionibus et ordinationibus Apostolicis, cæterisque contrariis quibuscunque, in illo a quo imperia et dominationes et bona cuncta procedunt: Confidentes quod dirigente Domino actus vestros, si huiusmodi sanctum ac laudabile propositum prosequamini, breui tempore cum fœlicitate et gloria totius populi Christiani, vestri labores et conatus exitum fœlicissimum consequentur. Verum quia difficile foret præsentis literas ad singula quæque loca in quibus expediens fuerit deferri, volumus ac motu et scientia similibus decernimus, quod illarum transumptis manu publici notarij inderogati subscriptis, et sigillo alicuius per-

habitautes in the Catholyke fayth and good maners, applyinge all theyr possible diligence in the premisses.

We furthermore streightly inhibite all maner of persons, of what state, degree, order, or condition so euer they bee, although of Imperiall and regall dignitie, vnder the peyne of the sentence of excommunication whiche they shall incurre yf they doo to the contrary, that they in no case presume without speciall lycence of yowe, yowre heyres, and succeffours, to trauayle for marchaundies or for any other cause, to the fayde landes or Ilandes, founde or to bee found, discouered, or to bee discouered, toward the west and fouth, drawing a line from the pole Artyke to the pole Antartike, whether the firme lands and Ilandes found and to be found, be situate toward *India* or towarde any other parte beinge distant from the lyne drawn a hundreth leagues towarde the west from any of the Ilandes commonly cauled *De los Azores* and *Cabo Verde*: Notwithstandynge constitutions, decrees, and Apostolycall ordinaunces what so euer they are to the contrary: In him from whom Empyres, dominions, and all good thynges doo procede: Trustynge that almyghtie god directynge yowre enterprifes, yf yowe followe yowre godly and laudable attemptes, yowre laboures and trauayles herein, shall in shorte tyme obteyne a happy ende with felicitie and glorie of all Christian people. But forasmuch as it shulde bee a thyng of great difficultie for these letters to bee caryed to all suche places as shuld bee expedient, we wyll, and of lyke motion and knowleage doo decree that whyther so euer the same shalbe sent, or wher so euer they shalbe receaued with the subscription of a common notarie therunto requyred, with the seale of any person constitute in ecclesiasticall dignitie, or suche as are autorysed by the ecclesiasticall courte, the same fayth and credite to bee

sonæ in ecclesiastica dignitate constitutæ, seu curiæ ecclesiasticæ munitis, ea prorsus fides in iudicio et extra ac alias vbilibet adhibeatur, quæ præsentibus adhiberetur si essent exhibitæ vel ostensæ.

Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostræ commendationis, hortationis, requisitionis, donationis, concessionis, assignationis, constitutionis, depurationis, decreti, mandati, inhibitionis, et voluntatis, infringere vel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attentare præsumpserit, indignationem omnipotentis Dei, ac beatorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum eius, se noverit incursum.:

Datum Romæ apud sanctum Petrum: Anno incarnationis Dominicæ. 1493. quarto nonas Maij: Pontificatus nostri anno primo.:

gyuen thereunto in iudgement or els where, as shulde bee exhibyted to these presentes.

It shal therefore bee lawefull for no man to infringe or rashely to contrarie this letter of owre commendation, exhortacion, requeste, donation, graunt, assignation, constitution, deputation, decree, commaundement, inhibition, and determination. And yf any shall presume to attempte the same, he owght to knowe that he shal thereby incurre the indignation of almyghtie God and his holye Apostles Peter and Paule. (·:·) (:·) (·:·)

¶ Gyuen at Rome at saynt Peters : In the yeare of th[e]incarnation of owre Lord M. CCCC. LXXXIII. The fourth day of the nones of Maye, the fyrste yeare of owre seate. () () ()

APPENDIX C.

LIST OF OFFICERS AND SAILORS IN THE FIRST VOYAGE OF COLUMBUS.

1. *Those who went out in the Santa Maria, and returned in the Niña: —*

Christopher Columbus, captain-general.

Juan de La Cosa, of Santoña, master, and owner of the vessel.

Sancho Ruiz, pilot.

Maestre Alonso, of Moguer, physician.

Maestre Diego, boatswain (*contramaestre*).

Rodrigo Sanchez, of Segovia, inspector (*veedor*).

Terreros, steward (*maestresala*).

Rodrigo de Jerez, of Ayamonte.

Ruiz Garcia, of Santoña.

Rodrigo de Escobar.

Francisco de Huelva, of Huelva.

Rui Fernandez, of Huelva.

Pedro de Bilbao, of Larrabezua.

Pedro de Villa, of Santoña.

Diego de Salcedo, servant of Columbus.

Pedro de Acevedo, cabin boy.

Luis de Torres, converted Jew, interpreter.

2. *Those who went and returned in the Pinta: —*

Martin Alonso Pinzon, of Palos, captain.

Francisco Martin Pinzon, of Palos, master.

Cristóbal Garcia Xalmiento, pilot.

Juan de Jerez, of Palos, mariner.
 Bartolomé Garcia, of Palos, boatswain.
 Juan Perez Vizcaino, of Palos, caulker.
 Rodrigo de Triana, of Lepe.
 Juan Rodríguez Bermejo, of Molinos.
 Juan de Sevilla.
 Garcia Hernández, of Palos, steward (*despensero*).
 Garcia Alonso, of Palos.
 Gomez Rascon, of Palos, } owners of the vessel.
 Cristóbal Quintero, of Palos, }
 Juan Quintero, of Palos.
 Diego Bermudez, of Palos.
 Juan Bermudez, of Palos.
 Francisco Garcia Gallego, of Moguer.
 Francisco Garcia Vallejo, of Moguer.
 Pedro de Arcos, of Palos.

3. *Those who went and returned in the Niña : —*

Vicente Yañez Pinzon, of Palos, captain.
 Juan Niño, of Moguer, master.
 Pero Alonso Niño, of Moguer, pilot.
 Bartolomé Roldan, of Palos, pilot.
 Francisco Niño, of Moguer.
 Gutierre Perez, of Palos.
 Juan Ortiz, of Palos.
 Alonso Gutierrez Querido, of Palos.

4. *Those who were left in Hispaniola, and perished,
 most of them murdered by the natives : —*

Pedro Gutierrez, keeper of the king's drawing room.
 Rodrigo de Escobedo, of Segovia, notary.
 Diego de Arana, of Cordova, high constable (*alguazil mayor*).
 Alonso Velez de Mendoza, of Seville.
 Alvar Perez Osorio, of Castrojeriz.

Antonio de Jaen, of Jaen.
The bachelor Bernardino de Tapia, of Ledesma.
Cristóbal del Alamo, of Niebla.
Castillo, silversmith and assayer, of Seville.
Diego Garcia, of Jerez.
Diego de Tordoya, of Cabeza de Buey, in Estremadura.
Diego de Capilla, of Almaden.
Diego de Torpa.
Diego de Mables, of Mables.
Diego de Mendoza, of Guadalajara.
Diego de Montalban, of Jaen.
Domingo de Bermeo.
Francisco Fernandez.
Francisco de Godoy, of Seville.
Francisco de Aranda, of Aranda.
Francisco de Henao, of Avila.
Francisco Ximénez, of Seville.
Gabriel Baraona, of Belmonte.
Gonzalo Fernandez de Segovia, of Leon.
Gonzalo Fernandez de Segovia, of Segovia.
Guillermo Ires, [qy. William Irish, or William Harris?], of Galney [i. e. Galway], Ireland.
Fernando de Porcuna.
Jorge Gonzalez, of Trigueros.
Maestre Juan, surgeon.
Juan de Urniga.
Juan Morcillo, of Villanueva de la Serena.
Juan de Cueva, of Castuera.
Juan Patiño, of La Serena.
Juan del Barco, of Barco de Ávila.
Juan de Villar, of Villar.
Juan de Mendoza.
Martin de Logrosa, of Logrosa.
Pedro Corbacho, of Cáceres.

Pedro de Talavera.

Pedro de Foronda.

Sebastian de Mayorga, of Majorca.

Tristan de San Jorge.

Tallarte de Lages [qy. Arthur Laws, or Larkins?],
of England.

This list is taken from Captain Cesáreo Fernández Duro's learned monograph, *Colon y Pinzon. Informe relativo á los pormenores de descubrimiento del Nuevo Mundo*, Madrid, 1883.

Juan de La Cosa is usually spoken of as having accompanied Columbus on his second voyage but not on his first. An ordinance of the sovereigns, however, dated February 28, 1494, and preserved among the Simancas MSS., thus addresses La Cosa:—"Fuistes por maestre de una nao vuestra á las mares del océano, donde en aquel viaje fueron descubiertas las tierras é islas de la parte de las Indias, é vos perdistes la dicha nao," *anglicè*, "You went as master of a ship of your own to the ocean seas where in that voyage were discovered the lands and islands of the Indies, and you lost the said ship." Navarrete, *Biblioteca maritima española*, tom. ii. p. 209. Mr. Winsor (*Christopher Columbus*, p. 184) seems to think that this La Cosa was a different person from the great pilot and cosmographer, who was a native of Santoña and resident of Puerto de Santa Maria; but Captain Duro (p. 292) makes him the same person. Cf. HARRISSE, *Christophe Colomb*, i. 406.

APPENDIX D.

LIST OF SURVIVORS OF THE FIRST VOYAGE AROUND THE WORLD.

(After the corrected lists in Guillemard's *Magellan*.)

1. *The eighteen who returned to Seville in the Victoria.*

Juan Sebastian Elcano, captain-general.

Miguel de Rodas, boatswain (*contramaestre*) of the Victoria.

Francisco Albo, of Axio, boatswain of the Trinidad.

Juan de Acurio, of Bermeo, boatswain of the Concepcion.

Martin de Judicibus, of Genoa, superintendent of the Concepcion.

Hernando de Bustamante, of Alcántara, barber of the Concepcion.

Juan de Zuvileta, of Baracaldo, page of the Victoria.

Miguel Sanchez, of Rodas, skilled seaman (*marinero*) of the Victoria.

Nicholas the Greek, of Naples, *marinero* of the Victoria.

Diego Gallego, of Bayonne, *marinero* of the Victoria.

Juan Rodriguez, of Seville, *marinero* of the Trinidad.

Antonio Rodriguez, of Huelva, *marinero* of the Trinidad.

Francisco Rodriguez, of Seville (a Portuguese), *marinero* of the Concepcion.

Juan de Arratia, of Bilbao, common sailor (*grumete*) of the Victoria.

Vasco Gomez Gallego (a Portuguese), *grumete* of the Trinidad.

Juan de Santandres, of Cueto, *grumete* of the Trinidad.

Martin de Isaurraga, of Bermeo, *grumete* of the Concepcion.

The Chevalier Antonio Pigafetta, of Vicenza, passenger.

2. *The thirteen who were arrested at the Cape Verde islands.*

Pedro de Indarchi, of Teneriffe, master of the Santiago.

Richard, from Normandy, carpenter of the Santiago.

Simon de Burgos (a Portuguese), servant of Mendoza, the traitor captain of the Victoria.

Juan Martin, of Aguilar de Campo, servant of the same Mendoza.

Roldan de Argote, of Bruges, bombardier of the Concepcion.

Martin Mendez, of Seville, accountant of the Victoria.

Juan Ortiz de Gopega, of Bilbao, steward of the San Antonio.

Pedro Gasco, of Bordeaux, *marinero* of the Santiago.

Alfonso Domingo, *marinero* of the Santiago.

Ocacio Alonso, of Bollullos, *marinero* of the Santiago.

Gomez Hernandez, of Huelva, *marinero* of the Concepcion.

Felipe de Rodas, of Rodas, *marinero* of the Victoria.

Pedro de Tolosa, from Guipuzcoa, *grumete* of the Victoria.

3. *The four survivors of the Trinidad, who returned to Spain long after their comrades.*

Gonzalo Gomez de Espinosa, constable (*alguazil*) of the fleet.

Juan Rodriguez, of Seville (called "the deaf"), *marinero* of the Concepcion.

Ginez de Mafra, of Xeres, *marinero*.

Leon Pancaldo, of Savona near Genoa, *marinero*.

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